The Beaver

SPRING 1959

songs of the eskimo

aii aii

I think over again my small adventures
When with the wind I drifted in my kayak
And thought I was in danger
My fears
Those small ones that seemed so big
For all the vital things
I had to get and to reach
And yet there is only one great thing
The only thing
To live to see the great day that dawns
And the light that fills the world.

aii aii

I walked on the ice of the sea
Wondering I heard
The song of the sea
And the great sighing
Of new formed ice
Go then go
Strength of soul
Brings health
To the place of feasting

aii aii

The Great sea has set me in motion
Set me adrift
And I move as a weed in the river
The Arch of sky
And mightiness of storms
Encompasses me
And I am left
Trembling with joy.

aii aii

I return to my little song
And patiently I sing it
Above fishing poles in the ice
Else I too quickly tire
When fishing upstream
When the wind blows cold
Where I stand shivering
Not giving myself time to wait for them
I go home saying
It was the fish that failed – upstream.

As Translated by Tegoodligak,
SOUTH BAFFIN ISLAND

Hudson's Bay Company.
INCORPORATED 2ND MAY 1670

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The Beaver

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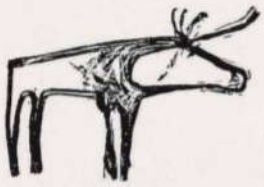

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Eskimo masks in the University of Alaska Museum collection
Photographs by Neville Waterfield

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WORLD CAPITAL 2059

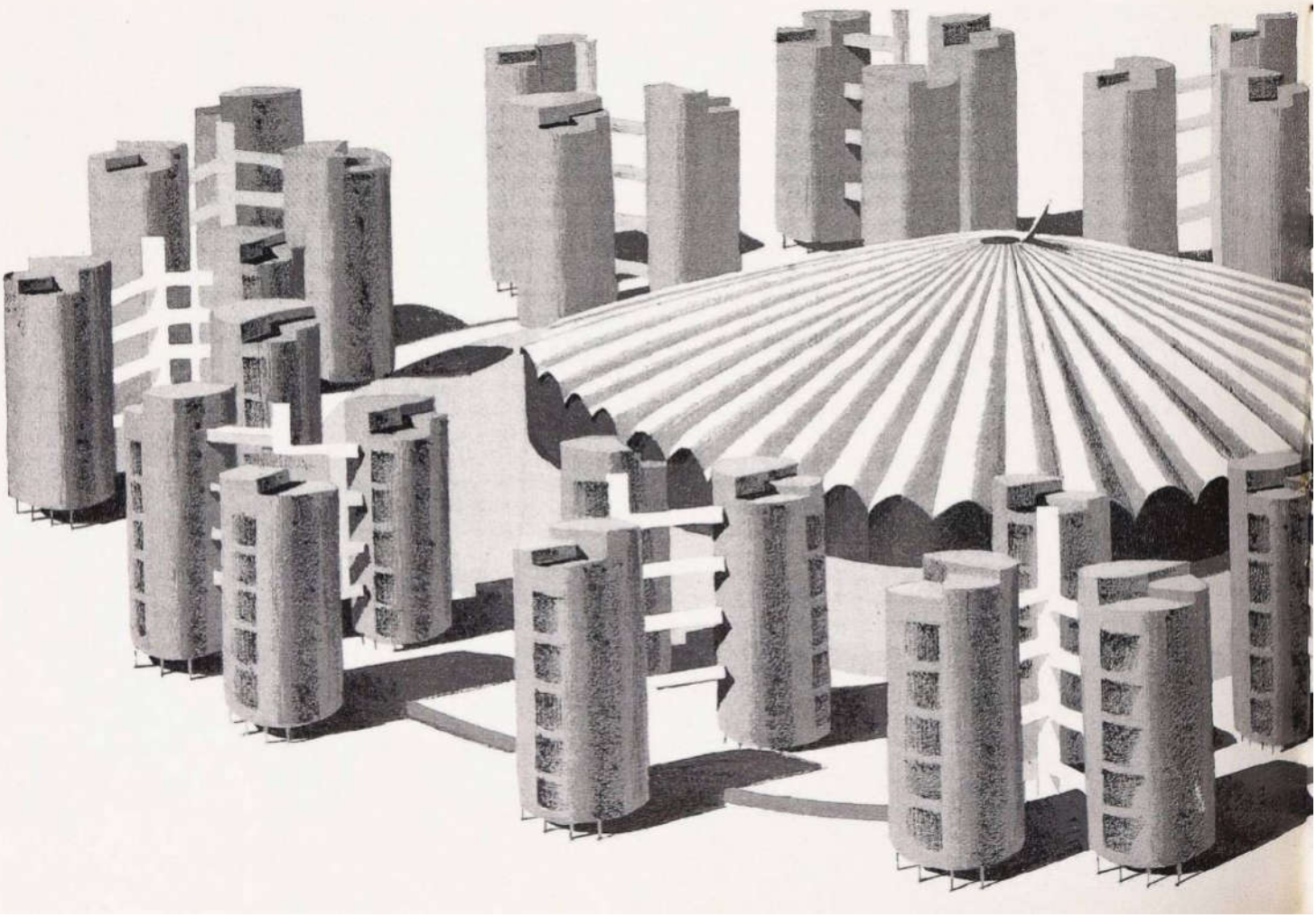
BY RITCHIE CALDER

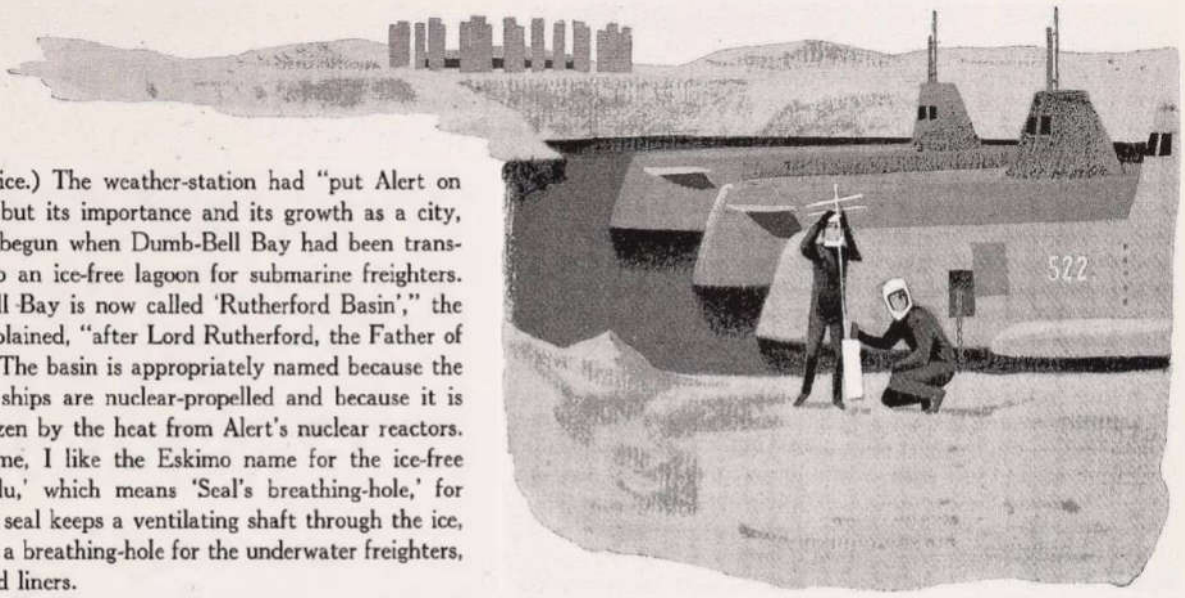
The author of "Men Against the Frozen North" and many other books, writes a fantasy-based-on-fact of the Canadian Arctic as it could be a hundred years from now.

IN welcoming the delegates of The World Assembly for its winter sessions at Alert, Premier Ehagoetok, of Ellesmere Province, has reminded them that they are within 400 miles of the North Pole—"where your retro-rockets started braking for the landing here." He has also recalled that just a century ago, around 1959, the provincial capital was quaintly called "Santa Claus's Hometown" because it was the most northerly inhabited place on earth. "Inhabited" was then almost an exaggeration because the population had consisted of only eight weathermen. They, however, had not been the first settlers.

"Nowadays, when we neither boast nor excuse our origins," said the premier, "I hesitate to point out that my own ancestors, the Eskimos, of the Thule and Dorset Cultures, had been here and in adjoining Pearyland, in Greenland, centuries before them."

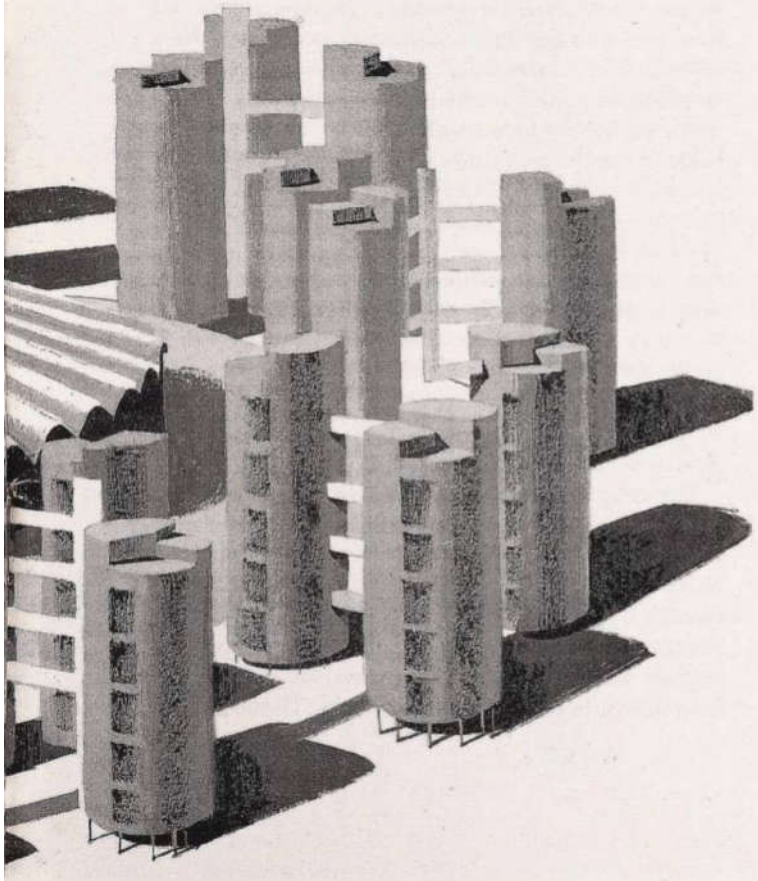
As a matter of history (the premier continued) Robert Peary 150 years ago had started for the North Pole on his sea-ice journey, from the neighbourhood of Alert and, almost a hundred years ago, the first To-the-Moon-and-Back rocket expedition had returned here. (Delegates would be able to visit the crater, for the annual wreath-





laying service.) The weather-station had "put Alert on the map," but its importance and its growth as a city, had really begun when Dumb-Bell Bay had been transformed into an ice-free lagoon for submarine freighters. "Dumb-Bell Bay is now called 'Rutherford Basin'," the premier explained, "after Lord Rutherford, the Father of the Atom. The basin is appropriately named because the submarine ships are nuclear-propelled and because it is kept unfrozen by the heat from Alert's nuclear reactors. All the same, I like the Eskimo name for the ice-free basin—'Aglu,' which means 'Seal's breathing-hole,' for just as the seal keeps a ventilating shaft through the ice, so we keep a breathing-hole for the underwater freighters, tankers and liners.

"As a respite from your labours, I recommend you to take the Trans-Polar Ferry. You can make the round trip to Siberia and back in a week-end, which is slow-going in these days of passenger-carrying rockets, which bring New Zealand within an hour's distance of Alert. But we Polar peoples are very proud of our under-sea scenery, and you will see why when the submarine flood-lights pick out the undersea alps as you sail between their peaks. . . ."



Dr. Okoboyko, of the United States of Africa, president of the World Assembly, congratulated the Premier of Canada and the Provincial Premier of Ellesmere on the enterprise which had made Alert the capital, at least temporarily, of the political world. Like Premier Ehagoetok, he hesitated to invoke the past of his people in an assembly concerned with the future of all peoples, but it pleased him to remember that it was here, on the north coast of Ellesmere that a negro, Matt Henson, had set out with Peary for the Pole. In those heroic days, who could have foreseen that the frozen Arctic would become not only part of the habitable world but that the night would be turned into day . . . ?

The president was referring, of course, to the man-made "sunlight" in which the delegates have arrived and which is visible all over the Northern Hemisphere. Rockets have been fired into Space and in the vacuum just beyond the earth's atmosphere have released sodium. The effect, on a celestial scale, is like that of the sodium lamps which once illuminated highways, because the ionising radiations, passing through the suspended and finely dispersed sodium gas, have filled the vacuum of the sky with a bright yellow light. This sky-glow illumines the Arctic darkness more prosaically but as vividly as Nature's own pyrotechnics, the Aurora Borealis. Nowhere in the world is this lighting as effective as in the Arctic darkness, where the white snows reflect it like burnished gold. The ionised layer serves another purpose for the assembly. This man-made mirror in the sky reflects the television rays and enables the proceedings to be followed all over the world, because apart from the "scatter" over the Northern Hemisphere, the transmissions are relayed by other sky-reflectors to the rest of the globe.

What has most impressed the visiting delegates, however, is Alert itself, a city of 50,000 people, where the tall

apartment-blocks and the luxury hotels are able to house the thousands of visitors—the delegates and secretariat of The World Assembly—without difficulty.

The town planning of Alert is typical of the layout of other Canadian Arctic cities. Whereas, in Antarctica, the continental capital, Amundsen City, has been constructed entirely underground, beneath the 10,000 feet ice cap, the Canadian cities have remained above ground, but with their inhabitants and their activities immune from the elements. This, a century ago would have been regarded as a remarkable engineering feat, because of the problems of permafrost. To have constructed a city of such massive buildings, the heating of which would have melted the permanently frozen subsoil and produced queer effects in the frozen bed-rocks, would have seemed impractical. In the meantime, however, methods have been evolved by which effective insulation has ensured sound foundations and has prevented the type of subsidence which once compelled the moving of the town of Aklavik.

Someone has called Alert, the "Arctic Stonehenge." Like that famous temple of the Druids on Salisbury Plain, it is in the form of a great circle. At the circumference are the "standing stones," the 20-storey-high buildings which are the apartments, hotels and offices. They are symmetrical in design, and in height. Just as Stonehenge has its monoliths linked by lintels, laid horizontally on the verticals, the top storeys of the building are linked by enclosed bridges. From the air it looks like the rim of a wheel, actually it is a circular runway, because on the flat top the vertical-lift aircraft descend. On landing they are automatically lowered into their "garages" in the interior of the "rim." Inside this circular corridor, 200 feet above the ground is the moving roadway which takes people from one block of buildings to another. The buildings are also linked to each other at ground-level, and by corridor streets, like the spokes of a wheel, to the City Centre.

The City Centre is half-a-mile in diameter, enclosed in a dome which is as high as that of St. Paul's Cathedral, but rising from the ground like a giant igloo. In principle it is like an enormous vacuum flask. Made of transparent plastic, unaffected by heat or by cold, the dome consists of an inner and an outer shell with a space between. With the sky visible above, the effect can be like that of a giant planetarium.

Inside this dome, with its controlled "climate," are the gardens, where any plant can grow; the sports arenas; the "open-air" theatre; football stadium; the swimming baths; and the ice-hockey rink. Here, although there are neighbourhood shopping centres in the buildings on the perimeter, is the market and, dead-centre, the "Pearson Forum" where the Assembly is being held, and which has just been named by the President as a tribute to the first Canadian to win the Nobel prize. The City Centre is suffused in artificial sunlight, not just from the sodium-sky glow but from discreet ultra-violet radiation which gives the people of Alert that healthy tan which might have been acquired on a tropical beach.

On the outskirts of Alert, but linked to it by an enclosed corridor roadway, is the rocket-airport. Here rocket-liners, remote-controlled, can land with pin-point accuracy. Air "lanes," as constant as the lines of longitude have been bringing in the delegates' rocket-liners on a safe schedule. Automatically, a radar "trigger," operating at a height and distance electronically calculated to their speed, applies the rocket brakes, the retro-rockets acting in reverse to the propelling motors. This system, without mishap, and in any weather conditions, is guaranteed to land the rocket airliner gently in the middle of the tarmac. The base is ten miles from the City Centre but less than four minutes distant in time. The roadway in the all-weather corridor is ballroom-smooth and the cars float over it on a cushion of air. The automatic motors which propel the cars also compress air which is ejected on the underside as jets, providing the air cushion on which, without the friction of wheels, vehicles can attain a speed of over 500 miles an hour.

The delegates, who held their last assembly at El Aghela, which a century ago was the oil "boom" town of the Sahara, and is now the administrative capital of the North African region, take climatically-immune cities for granted. Indeed, there are many Canadians who have forgotten their northward expansion and even the political ructions which compelled the removal of their capital from Ottawa to the shores of Baker Lake. There had been

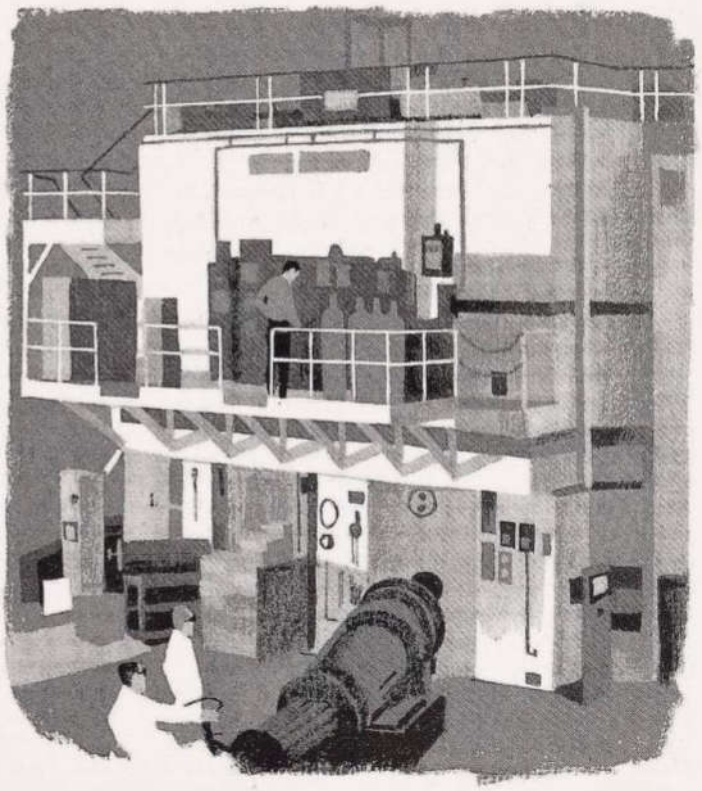
a threat of secession by the young provinces north of 60° latitude, unless the government would move nearer to the geographic centre of Canada. With the economic wealth involved in the former Northwest Territories and the Arctic Archipelago, this was a serious threat which, in spite of the opposition of Old Canada and the Prairie Provinces, prevailed. The District of Chesterfield had accordingly been made a Dominion enclave in the Keewatin Province, which, with its Atomic Age minerals, had become one of the wealthiest in Canada. Canadians have also conveniently forgotten the expensive failure of the attempt to unfreeze Hudson Bay, by thermonuclear energy. This ambitious project was not merely an attempt to unlock the Bay from its ice-prison and keep it open for shipping, but to modify the climate of the north and mid-west. The "modification" had temporarily happened with serious results, not in Canada but in Europe, so that the World Meteorological Organization had had to apply sanctions. There was a threat of a "weather blockade"—the precipitation of the rain-bearing Pacific clouds before they reached British Columbia.

So the North had come to terms with its natural climate. The old forbidding ideas about the Frozen North had disappeared; the so-called "Frozen Frontier" had been opened up as dramatically as the western frontiers had been pushed back in the 19th century. The "covered wagons" and the "York boats" of the northward migration had been the "flying box-cars," the aircraft which could steeplechase over impossible terrain and accomplish, in hours, journeys which, by land-trek, would have taken weeks and even months. Aircraft, too, had revealed the prodigious wealth of minerals of the Canadian Shield hidden under forests, lakes, barrens and ice. Geological scouts, in helicopters, had gone ahead of the ground prospectors.

The winning of such wealth, including the atomic minerals (not only the fissile fuels, like uranium and thorium, but the metals indispensible to fusion, as well as fission, reactors) had made atomic reactors economic, even in the early days. Here was wealth buried in places remote from the roads and rail-heads of surface transport—places as isolated as islands in the sea or oases in the desert. So the Canadians created "industrial oases," accessible only by air. They sent, by air, the components of the reactors and the generators, as once on the DEW Line operation which strung radar stations across the Arctic, they had flown in men, materials and complete settlements. These atomic stations did not need the continuous supplies by pipeline or by rail, which oil or coal installations would have needed; once constructed and "critical," the reactor-fuel could be replenished by air so occasionally that the stations were virtually self-sufficient. With abundant heat and power from the atom, ores could be mined, milled and refined on the spot and bulked so small (yet so valuable) that the output could be handled by aircraft. With abundant heat and power, communities could be created with all the amenities of the cities of the south. Mining camps were no longer just bunk-houses and mess-halls, poker games, and itinerant miners, working their contracted spell and heading south again. They became towns and eventually cities, where families grew up and went to school, unaware of any "bright lights" except those of their native north.

One of the ironies of the north was that atomic energy helped to keep the Frozen North frozen. The handicap to air-movement had been the freeze-up and the break-up. In the winter, aircraft, on skis or even on wheels, could land on the thick ice of the lakes or sea, or the hard-bound land strips; in the summer there were the abundant lakes and rivers where they could land on pontoons. But in the in-betweens, flying was hampered, until there was surplus energy enough to keep the air-fields frozen by refrigeration pipes, as had been possible with indoor ice-rinks. The same applied to roads.

Behind the miners went the farmers—yes, the farmers although in those days, a century ago, it had seemed impossible that crops would grow in such inhospitable climate. The climate did not change but the plants did. By intensive selection, using atomic radiation to speed the mutations and make possible in five years what would have taken fifty by conventional botany, the plant-breeders had produced variants of grain, root-crops and



vegetables to suit the conditions of the farthest north. They created types which could escape the frosts and grow to maturity in the long days, but short season, of the Arctic summer. They adapted crops to the soils of converted muskeg and conditioned, into soil, the sands of the glaciated Canadian Shield of the Barrens. They planted trees far north of what had been the limits of the tree-line. The first great agricultural advance had been up the alluvial valleys of the Liard and the Mackenzie to the vast delta which is now so productive that it is called "the Arctic Nile." But, wherever townships grew, even in apparently intractable places, crops followed—though in some places they were merely cottage gardens or intensive market-gardening. The other thing was the breeding of a type of Arctic dairy-cow as tough as the moose as far as climate was concerned and as lavish as the Friesian in terms of milk.

Incidentally, one of the excursions which has been arranged for the World Assembly delegates is to the great fish-ranch of Kane Basin. This was not the first, but it is now one of the most efficient, sea-farms in the world. It was created by the simple device of stretching electric wires across the northern and southern limits of the straits which separate Ellesmere from Greenland and electrically fencing in the fish. Here there was some help from the change of climate, which was becoming noticeable a century ago, when the fish were already moving far up the west coast of Greenland, but the use of fertilizers, to increase the phytoplankton and thus the zooplankton, multiplied the fish. Today the fishing yields are even greater because the nuclear reactors which supply the power for the Kane Basin fish-factories have provided heating for the fish-nurseries and a further tempering of the cold sea. The harvest of the sea-fish in Kane Basin is now as big as that of fresh-water fish from Great Bear Lake, the biggest inland fish-ranch in the world.

Appropriately, Churchill, on Hudson Bay, was the first ice-free port. With its grain-hauling railway across the Manitoba muskeg and its giant elevators, it was already handling about eleven million tons of grain during the brief season when deep-water surface ships could reach it. Then, with the introduction of 80,000 ton submarine freighters, it created an all-the-year-round lagoon where they could surface and load. Then it became the "rail-head" for the sled-trains hauling the Keewatin ores over the winter-ice of the Bay, until the traffic became so great that Eskimo Point, and later Hearneport, on Chesterfield Inlet, became submarine ports. So also did Chimo, for the minerals of Ungava.

Frobisher Bay, now the capital of Baffin Province, was one of the first of the domed cities of the Arctic. It showed that the architects had sense enough to learn from the Eskimo; after all, the domed igloo had proved itself a pretty effective form of architecture!

The importance of Alert dates from the opening up of the polar oil-field and the mining of the great coal deposits of Ellesmere Island. The existence of the oil-fields had been first suspected from the aerial photographs taken by the Royal Canadian Air Force on their northern patrols and mapping surveys after the Second World War. Those showed, on many of the polar islands, what looked suspiciously like salt-domes, the enormous surface "bubbles" of rock which often indicate the existence of oil. But what use was oil locked up in the permanent ice of the Arctic? The coming of submarine tankers changed all that; Meighen Island and the Ringnes Islands were no more inaccessible than the Persian Gulf. Then, beneath the glacier-filled valleys and nunataks, those peaks like knapped flints, was discovered the wealth of metal ores of Ellesmere which turned Eureka, farther south, into an industrial city and Alert into a prosperous provincial capital, 400 miles from the North Pole.

WRITING THIS behind the storm-proof windows of a nineteenth-storey apartment, I can look northwards towards the Pole over a snow-covered landscape, glittering like gold under the sodium sky-glow and shimmering as the winds whip the snow crystals into what once sounded so menacing as "blizzard." I am above the whirling surface-snow which has buried the corridor-roads, the spokes of Alert's wheel, and I am looking into the glowing dome of the City Centre as though it were a crystal ball. What I am seeing in the crystal, however, is not the future but the past—Peary, struggling through such a blizzard as that on which I look down with Olympic detachment; Charles Hubbard and the eight men who crashed with him in 1950 when they were trying to parachute food-supplies to the newly established weather station; and the weathermen of a century ago, just eight of them, making unseen friends by "ham" radio in the world from which they were cut off.

And I echo the words which the President of the World Assembly said at its opening, this day, 12th February, 2059:

"Here, in Alert, we have the proof that the Canadian Arctic is part of our habitable world, of that world which has become so small, in terms of time and distance, that we, in Africa, are your near neighbours; so small that we must cherish its surface as we would a garden and treasure its resources as our *lares* and *penates*. Today we have lit a beacon in the Arctic night, the torch of Man's achievements . . ." ◆

ARCTIC RESOURCES

BY J. LEWIS ROBINSON

I BELIEVE that Canadians are confused about the the number, kind, and amount of their arctic resources. This confusion is partially the result of not knowing the varying geographical characteristics of the vast and vague area known as "The North." To many eastern Canadians "the North" could be anything north of North Bay, which in latitude is *south* of all of the four western provinces. To some western Canadians "the North" is the large provincial area north of Edmonton, Alberta, and Prince George, B.C., and may or may not include the Mackenzie and Yukon river valleys of the northern Territories.

To many Canadians "the North" and "the Arctic" mean about the same thing, and can be used interchangeably. Our schools and our teachers have further confused the situation by teaching an ancient Greek concept that the Arctic is defined by the Arctic Circle. Despite the fact that modern geographers and other writers have pointed out that the Arctic is a climatic term, we still cling to our beloved Arctic Circle, which is only a latitude line indicating the number of hours of daylight or darkness in certain seasons.

It should be obvious that if Canadians are interested in Arctic resources they must first know *what* the Arctic is and *where* it is. They should not confuse it with the *Subarctic*, which has other resource possibilities, and it should not be confused with that vague generalization, "The North"!

Since the Arctic is a climatic region, it is defined on climatic terms. It is that area of northeastern Canada which on the average does *not* have a warm summer. (A "summer" month, to a climatologist, is one in which the average monthly mean temperature is more than 50 degrees F.) The point to remember is that *all* of northern Canada is cold in the winter, although to varying degrees, whereas summer temperatures warm up in the Subarctic, but remain cool (although *not* cold) in the Arctic. The Subarctic covers more of Canada than any other climate, extending from the coast of Labrador in a broad zone across to northern British Columbia and Yukon Territory.

The Arctic, as properly defined, is the region lying north of a line which extends approximately from the mouth of the Mackenzie river southeastward to Churchill, Manitoba, and also includes northwestern Quebec, and much of coastal Labrador. A glance at a map will show that these Arctic regions cover large areas of northeastern Canada which are hundred of miles *south* of the Arctic Circle.

If we are clear as to what the Arctic is and where it is, it is then possible to study what this particular environment offers in the way of resources—both present and potential.

The Arctic is a treeless region. Coniferous trees can survive through the cold winters of northern Canada, but they require some warmth in the summer to grow and thrive. Since the Arctic region does not have this summer warmth for a continuous period, we find that the northern limit of tree growth coincides closely with the southern limit of the Arctic. The resource of forests and the occupation of forestry must therefore be eliminated from any Arctic resource discussion. When one reads, for example about the progress of Soviet forestry in their Arctic, one should realize that the term Arctic is being misused, since the Arctic is, by definition, treeless.

The Arctic has no agricultural development. It is quite true that vegetables and hardy grains grow in the Subarctic region of the Mackenzie and Yukon river valleys of the Canadian Northwest, but they are *not* found in the one million square miles of the Canadian Arctic. Although it is true that the frost-free season of the Arctic is generally too short for the usual Canadian crops, and warmth is lacking despite the long hours of summer daylight, a more serious limitation is the lack of developed soils. In the short geological period of a few thousand years since the Ice-cap melted back in the Arctic, the sands and gravels of the valleys have not added sufficient organic matter to be classed as proper, productive soils. This is not to say that the modern science of hydroponics, chemical soil feeding, and induced warmth from glass-houses, could not grow products in the Arctic. They could if it were so desired, and if someone were willing to pay the cost. I believe, however, that with so much better land available closer to settlement and markets, Canadians should not think of this 28 per cent of Canada as having any potential for agricultural settlement.

If one eliminates forestry and agriculture from the resource picture of the Arctic, what is there left? The

Professor Robinson, head of the department of geography at the University of British Columbia has published many articles on northern and arctic Canada.

historic fur trade has been the main developed resource of the Canadian Arctic throughout most of this century. Fur-bearers, however, are found in greatest numbers in the forested areas of the world, and the treeless Arctic is left with essentially one main fur-bearer, the white fox. The utilization of this resource after about 1920 changed much of the economy and "way-of-life" of the ten thousand Eskimo inhabitants of the Arctic. It brought to them in trade goods many of the advantages of civilization in the way of improved weapons and utensils.

This resource is, however, a fluctuating one, and not a sound basis for a permanent economy. Not only does the white fox have an approximate four-year cycle of abundance, which varies the Eskimo's annual income, but it is also a "luxury" product, the market for which is determined by factors outside of the Arctic. When the ladies of our southern cities decided, after World War II, that they preferred "short furs," such as muskrat and mink, the market price for white foxes dropped seriously. To the Eskimo who was dependent upon this one resource of the Arctic environment, this meant economic distress and government assistance if he were to maintain the standard of living to which he was becoming accustomed. It is true that at any time female fashions may again decide that long furs are desirable and the white fox (or a dyed version) may again be a valuable resource. But we should keep a scale on this value—it is important to the Arctic, which has little else, but compared with other Canadian fur values it is small, and compared with other Canadian resources it is insignificant.

What else can the Arctic environment offer as a resource and therefore as a possible occupation for people? What about fisheries? The Arctic lowlands are sometimes described in summer as "being more water than land," and the Arctic region has the large water area of Hudson Bay and the many straits and channels between the Arctic islands. The Arctic certainly has a great deal of water, but does that water contain fish in sufficient quantities to be considered as a developable resource? Our scientific information concerning fisheries and other marine life is still being accumulated, and therefore the answer to this question can be given more accurately in five or ten years. Present knowledge, however, indicates that the enormous expanse of Hudson Bay does not contain sufficient fish to be used commercially. It is true that there is a white whale "industry" supporting a small factory at Churchill, and that the few thousand residents around the shores of Hudson Bay catch sufficient fish at river mouths for dog feed and human food, but this can hardly be classed as a "resource" of present and future significance.

Although the economy of Greenland has changed with the appearance of cod in commercial quantities off the southwest coast, there is as yet no evidence that cod are found in quantity off the adjoining Baffin Island coasts of Canada, nor do the cod apparently penetrate into Hudson Strait beyond Ungava Bay. The tasty, salmon-like fish, Arctic char, are being shipped out of the eastern Arctic in small quantities for southern urban "specialty-food" markets, but the evidence indicates that their numbers will be small. Their appeal will probably lie in their scarcity.

As has been indicated above, the resources on the land and in the sea of the Arctic are not large, and Canadians should realize that the Arctic has a distinct and different environment from what they know and may compare with it in other parts of Canada. The Arctic has no forests, no agriculture, a little fur and a little fish. The one remaining resource, and perhaps the hope for future development, is that which lies beneath the land—minerals.

The treeless Arctic has a great deal of bare rock exposed at the surface, and now that the whole region has had the first coverage of air photos, it is possible to do some of the "prospecting" from the comfort of a modern urban office. Geological knowledge has been gathered rapidly in the past decade, and there is no doubt but that mineralization occurs very widely throughout the Arctic. However, people often forget that mineralization is common throughout *all* of the world, and there is a big difference between a mineral *occurence* and a developed, operating mine. For about every thousand claims staked in the southern parts of Canada, only a hundred are ever explored with shafts, and only about a dozen ever become producing mines. A mineral occurence does not become an ore body until it is proved that it is large enough and rich enough to pay for the cost of transportation and development.

In the Arctic these costs are high—lumber and food must be imported, unlike southern mining towns. Although climate itself is not a deterring factor because mines can and do operate in cold temperatures, it does become a cost factor through the lack of local building material and food. The arctic climate further limits transport by water to a few months of the ice-free season. Even the dreams and plans of sub-surface cargo vessels operating under the ice will have to operate at a cost. The point is that in a competitive economy the mineralization of the Arctic will have to be that much richer to be developed in competition with other mineralization closer to the markets of the world's industrial centres. In spite of these economic problems, we should expect that mines will be developed in the Arctic. This is more of a function

Arctic Canada defined on climatic terms.

of world and national economies than the result of the environmental character of the Arctic.

In this large area of "one million square miles of rock" there are both the "soft" rocks of sedimentary origin, similar to those of the Prairie Provinces, and also the "hard" rocks like those of Ontario and Quebec mining districts. The soft rocks could be the sources of the fuels and non-metallics, if their geological history is favourable. The fact that coal is widespread through the Arctic of Canada and of the Soviet Union has been known for a long time. In a treeless and cold region this coal would seem to have strategic and future value, despite its generally low quality. At present, however, it seems more desirable to import fuel oil at great cost from southern cities. Petroleum is yet to be found. Although a few suitable structures have been reported, the wild estimates of millions or even billions of barrels of oil in the Arctic should be accepted, on the basis of logic, with equality to a statement that there is no oil in the Arctic. Neither statement has sufficient factual basis to be made.

Metallics will come from the "hard" rock areas. Mineralization has been reported by explorers and geologists for several decades, but the first mine in the Arctic opened only a few years ago at Rankin Inlet to produce nickel (Port Radium, Yellowknife and Knob Lake are northern mining centres in Subarctic Canada). The copper of Coppermine river, the gold of Padlei, the iron of Belcher Islands, the base metals of Cape Smith, the iron west of Ungava Bay—all being explored now—were known prior to World War II. It is yet to be proved that present prices and costs will make them any more valuable now than they were twenty years ago.

This is not meant to be pessimistic, but I do believe that we should be careful. I doubt if Canadians who talk glibly about "our future lies North" really mean the Arctic. I am confident that the increased tempo of northern resource development will continue, but this development and potential are almost entirely in the Subarctic regions. We can be optimistic about "our North" if we are referring to the Subarctic, but I believe that we must be realistic when we are referring to Arctic resource development. This is *not* to say that the Arctic is "useless" or "worthless," but simply that the resource development will be on a very small scale, and should not be expected to be significant compared with the resource potential of Subarctic Canada.

I am fully aware that pessimists said the same things about the hopeless future of agriculture in Manitoba in the last century, and the waste of effort in joining "the sea of mountains" of British Columbia by rail to the rest of Canada, but the Arctic environment is neither like that of Manitoba nor of British Columbia. The Arctic is a distinct and different geographical region of Canada; those who are interested in its resources should study it carefully, compare it with the resource potential of the rest of "underdeveloped" Canada, and then come to their own conclusions. But first, when we discuss "The North" let us indicate whether we are including or excluding the Arctic, and whether when we refer to "the Arctic" we really do mean the Arctic as the term is properly used. ◆

JOURNEY FROM THE IGLOO

Photographs by Charles Gimpel giving a contemporary view of some of the Eskimos in the Eastern Arctic.

He might be throwing a harpoon—but this Eskimo is working a machine in the nickel mine at Rankin Inlet.

Pootoolik is the head-man employed at the Hudson's Bay Company post at Sugluk.

When stores are unloaded at an arctic post everyone turns to and women do much of the carrying. These mothers are about to lift a sack-laden stretcher.

House-painting is a skill not acquired in a snow-house.

In all the controversy which surrounds the Canadian Eskimo, much of it ill-informed and much over sentimental, there is a tendency to forget that the Eskimo is not a special form of human being, but an ordinary human being living in a special environment.

As that environment changes, and it is too late today to halt the change, even if it were desirable, the Eskimo must change with it.

For many who are too old to accept easily the new world, the change will be painful; for others who have found a ready niche in this new society it will be immediately beneficial; for the children, almost without exception, it promises a better and more plentiful life.

Last fall Mr. Charles Gimpel, an English photographer, travelled through sections of the Eastern Arctic looking with a special eye on the North of 1958. He saw the con-

Tents are set up when the Eskimos gather during the summer months. This is ship-time at Sugluk.

temporary Eskimo and his family in their new permanent homes; the man of the house, who was the man of the igloo, now at work in the mine and on construction; the wife, who once crouched over the smoking seal oil lamp, in her new and contemporary kitchen; the children once restricted to traditional skills, learning new skills in new classrooms.

Elsewhere in this issue of *The Beaver* there is another series of photographs, this one a brilliant set of colour pictures by Father G. Mary-Rousselière, O.M.I., which show the life of the Eskimo much as it used to be.

The scow which lighters goods from the supply ship "Rupertsland" is hauled in at Cape Dorset.

Home in the canvas tent—brighter than the old-time skin tent but not easy to keep tidy.

New Eskimo village at Rankin where housing is provided by the mine management at moderate rates.

Schooling is not just a matter of work in the classroom, but also of learning to make the best use of the food and equipment available, and to become part of the community life.

Few of us would substitute the one for the other, for the basic fact so often forgotten about this primitive society is that it was primitive—hard, uncomfortable and often dangerous. Its members died young, if they survived infancy. From birth to death its people were at the mercy of a harsh environment.

This is not to say that as a group the Eskimo was unhappy or that he had not learned to meet competently the challenge which Nature thrust upon him; nor does it mean that much will not be lost in the spiritual and physical journey from the igloo.

The toddler hoists a harpoon. Children's play is the basis of adult skills in the Eskimo way of life.

Eskimo boys take readily to work in the carpentry class. The school is at Chesterfield Inlet where it is operated for the federal government by the Oblate Mission.

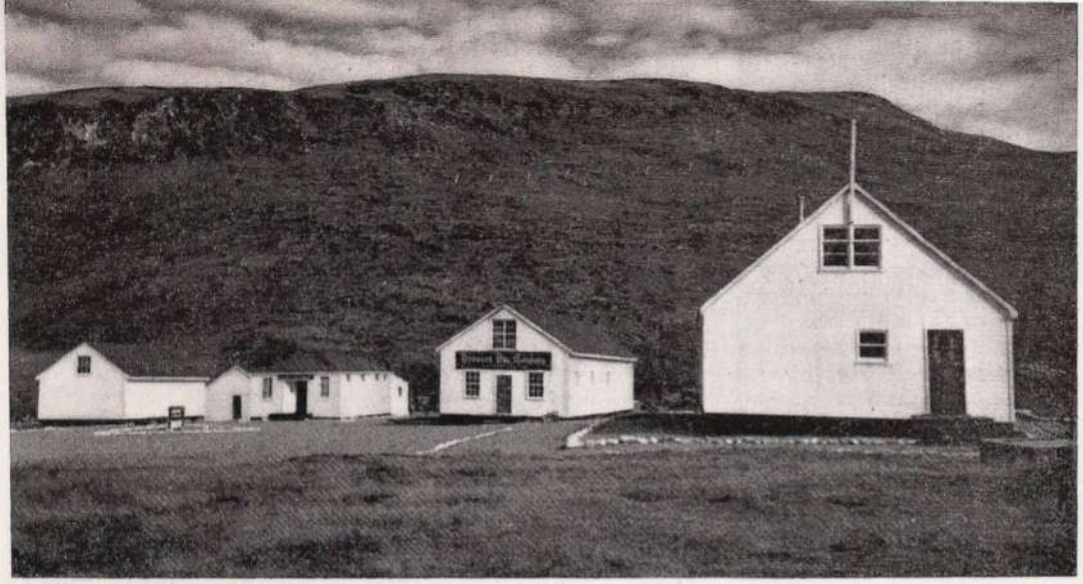
What it does mean is that instead of a single and threatened way of life, designed for the special circumstances of Arctic living, alternatives can be made available; that Nature, once the sole determinant of an Eskimo's future, must now share this position with other and man-made forces; and that in the final result what is lost will be more than balanced by what is gained.

In all this there can be no pat answers, no pat solutions because, in honesty, no one really knows or can say he knows what the effect of the change will be upon these individuals and upon their future. But clearly money alone is not the answer, nor is speed. Better to build well slowly than to gallop wildly about in error, compounding the tragedy by confusing what is good for us with what is good for them; by assuming that what we have is necessarily what they want.

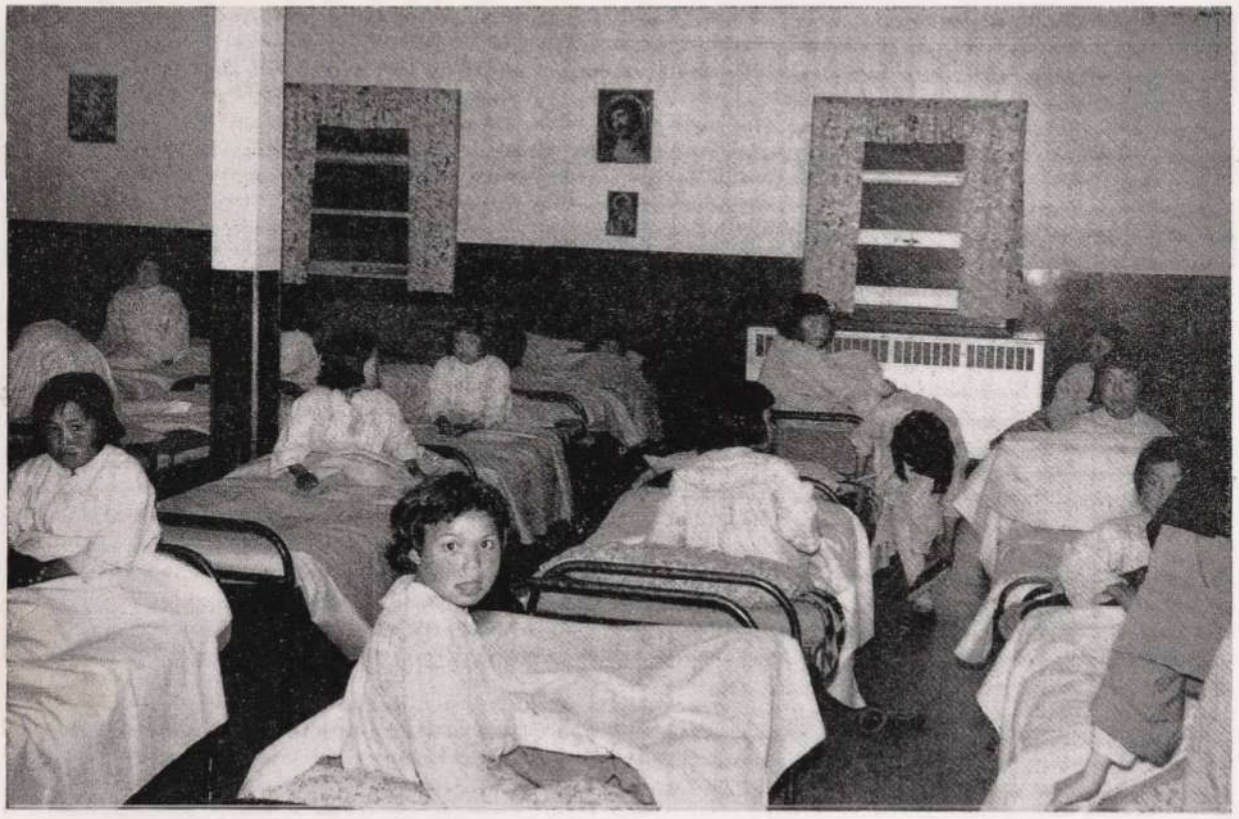
Pastor, workers from the mine, and youngsters gather in the store at Rankin Inlet. The sealskin cap with playing-card motif, locally made is very popular with the mineworkers.

Whatever the hardships of the period of transition, it can be, and in Canada today is being, made a cushioned period with refuges for those who find themselves unable to come to terms with it, with protection for the old and the young and with the hope that the next and adjusted generation will carry with them no more than a proud memory of their ancestral past.

It is sad to see the end of a society which triumphed so well over so much, but the triumph was unbelievably expensive in human terms.—*F.B.W.* ♦



The group of buildings, always white with red roofs, which typify a Hudson's Bay Company fur trade post, this one being at Sugluk.



Many children attending school are flown in by the government from remote settlements or are left by their parents who then go to their hunting grounds. This dormitory is in the hostel at Chesterfield where there is a fine modern school.

Charles Gimpel

BY L. H. NICHOLSON

The PROBLEM

THERE may be a feeling that the so-called Eskimo problem is being over-emphasized, and it is true that a good deal has been said about it in recent years, indeed in recent days—some comment helpful, some confusing, and some downright misleading. I want to try and bring the principal considerations together, then to offer my own views as to how treatment might continue and progress.

In the first place let us remind ourselves of the Eskimo numbers, locations and employment. In all we have about 10,300 Eskimo people, a number equalling the population of the town of Smith Falls, Ontario, or Prince George, B.C. About 3,300 are found in northern Quebec and the Labrador; about 3,300 are located in the Arctic Islands; some 1,600 reside in the District of Keewatin, along the Hudson Bay coast and inland; there are about 800 along the central Arctic coast—that is roughly from Cape Bathurst to Melville Peninsula; 1,200 reside in the Mackenzie delta area and about 100 in northern Manitoba.

The northern Quebec and Labrador Eskimos are for the most part hunters and trappers living along the sea-coast and drawing a small cash income from carvings. The same may be said of those living in the Arctic islands and along the central Arctic coast. The Keewatin Eskimos are also hunters and trappers but most of them depend or did depend upon the caribou for a livelihood—they are not hunters of sea mammals. In this area there is also a pocket of wage employment at Rankin Inlet in the nickel mine. The Mackenzie delta Eskimos—the most highly developed group—depend to some extent on wage employment though the majority are still hunters or trappers, at least on a part-time basis. The 100 Eskimos in northern Manitoba live by wage employment at Churchill.

What are the pressing features of the Eskimo problem? I suggest that fundamentally there are three: Lack of food or the means to buy food; lack of clothing; the upsetting influence of an influx of strangers.

Lack of food is the main issue in Keewatin. A lack of clothing (caribou skins) is also found here and this same lack of clothing is a serious feature along the Arctic coast, in northern Quebec and in the Arctic islands. Both lack of food and lack of clothing may be traced to the disappearance of the vast caribou herds. The third feature is general throughout the North. Its seriousness varies with the size of the installation or industry and with the number of Eskimos clustered about without regular employment or reasonable housing. I include the third feature as I feel it is just as bad for an Eskimo hunter to become a scavenger and beggar as it is for him to starve or freeze to death.

Why has this problem forced itself upon us so noticeably during the past few years? Has there never been trouble in the past? The answers are clear: Caribou herds have dwindled at an alarming rate in this period. Many defence installations have opened up and this alone has altered the North immeasurably. Mines have likewise opened up to an extent not contemplated twenty or thirty years ago. The value of the fur harvest has fluctuated noticeably and at times has reached a very low level. We cannot today accept the harshness of nature's laws. Thirty years ago the death of a few Eskimos by starvation would have attracted no attention, or at most would have been a matter of interest only. Such deaths were looked upon by the Eski-

Commissioner Nicholson of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, who is a member of the Northwest Territories Council, presented these views at the opening of the Council at Ottawa in January 1959.

OF THE PEOPLE

mos themselves as inevitable and the population was in this hard way held to what the country could maintain. The Eskimos may still accept this rule—we cannot.

With such a problem it is surely, first of all, well to agree on general objectives and I venture to suggest what they should be or indeed what they are, as my views in this respect are not original: (1) I suggest we want the Eskimo to survive as a people. (2) We want them to stay in the North and develop as the northern element of the Canadian population.

I suspect that my first point or objective may be questioned and sociologists may say that inevitably this small group of people will be absorbed by other races. I do not want to argue this point; I merely want to say that surely we do want the Eskimos to live and surely we do not wish them to lose their good qualities. If there is to be a process of absorption by other races, let it be slow and let it take place in a way that does not hurt the Eskimo.

On my second point there may also be argument—I know there are those who say that if these people have to be kept and educated let us move them out and take care of them where the taking care is easier. But what does this involve? Certainly disregard of the Eskimo's own inclinations and wishes—the North is home to him. It also involves the loss of these people in the comparatively vast white population. Instead of such a forced southward move, we should watch, encourage and assist these people as they adjust slowly to our habits—and do this in the North where they are at home. I look to the day when small, tidy, permanent settlements may be dotted over the North, from which these people hunt, trap, and practise in other ways the exploitation of the country's resources. I see also a growing number of them filling wage and salary jobs in the North. With these changes there would come abandonment of the nomadic habits which now make it so difficult to help them.

On this proposition that the Eskimos should be encouraged to stay in the North rather than move southward, there is another consideration. Surely we want to maintain a reasonable population in this great, empty land beyond the tree line—and the people best equipped to live there are the Eskimos, to whom it is home.

WHAT HAS BEEN DONE

Next I should like to summarize what has been done—and I think there is all too little understanding of the planning and energy devoted to the problem and the results already shaping up.

EDUCATION

To take education first, we find that, putting aside the Mackenzie delta area because of its special nature, there are approximately 1,900 children between the ages of 6 and 16 in the Eskimo country. With 32 classrooms in 20 schools, there is a total registration of 860. In the next two years 20 classrooms in 12 new schools are planned. In the past five years 299 Eskimo students have taken vocational or high school training and at the present time 52 are attending such schools.

If we remember that outside the Mackenzie delta area less than five per cent of the adult Eskimos can read, write, and do simple arithmetic, we must conclude that for the generation now of school age real progress has been made.

EMPLOYMENT

There is an estimate that over the next few years about 1,350 adult male Eskimos must support themselves and their dependents by cash employment. Of this number 450 are at present employed, distributed roughly as follows: At Churchill, 18; Rankin Inlet, 107; Frobisher Bay, 85; in the Mackenzie delta, 75; scattered elsewhere, 165. Good prospects for more employment are opening with an iron mine at Cape Hopes Advance and base metal mining at Coppermine.

A small but regular and well-distributed source of wage employment is provided by the Hudson's Bay Company and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. These organizations usually employ one or more Eskimos at each of their posts and stations. The same type of service employment is developing as other departments and organizations set up establishments in the North.

HEALTH

In this field a great deal has been accomplished, though factors of distance, time and weather limit or slow progress.

The big thing is that tuberculosis is being brought under control—it is no longer the number one enemy. The average ratio of deaths to population in the years 1954 to 1957 was less than half what it was a decade earlier. The work still goes on. In 1957, 6,459 X-rays were taken; 197 active T.B. cases were discovered and steps were taken to treat by hospitalization.

Progress has also been made in other ways. For instance, since 1949 seven nursing stations have been opened in Eskimo territory, while six additional ones are planned. These stations provide local treatment for a great variety of illnesses, and as well giving the Eskimos some idea of home nursing fundamentals and sanitation.

HOUSING

At Frobisher Bay and Inuvik 141 small houses have been built, most of which are available to Eskimo families as and when they are able to pay the rental of between $25 and $30 per month. The Eskimos working at Churchill have accommodation in 20 housing units at a rental their wages allow them to pay. At Rankin Inlet the Eskimos working in the mine have been provided by the mine management with suitable housing at a reasonable rate.

But a cheaper type of dwelling is needed for Eskimos still living on the land and gathering, I hope, to a greater and greater extent in small, permanent settlements. So last year the Department of Northern Affairs carried out a practical experiment at Povungnetuk. Material was shipped in and with the full participation of the natives themselves, nine simple wood frame houses were erected of three different types using corrugated aluminum, plywood, and peat sods. The most expensive of the buildings cost $440. Heating is by oil lamps. Initial reaction of the occupants of these dwellings was good.

A couple of years earlier the police corporal at Port Harrison, with the help of the Eskimos, built three double-walled, insulated tents. These were economical and reasonably satisfactory, and for a permanent settlement a great improvement over igloos and ordinary tents.

Two styrofoam buildings—igloo-type structures made with styrofoam blocks—have been erected by the Department of Northern Affairs at Cape Dorset for use by Eskimos permanently employed in the settlement. This is an experiment which seems to have some promise.

The Eskimos of Resolute and Grise Fiord have also been assisted to construct quite tidy and useful houses for themselves, using such material as they have been able to get locally. All in all some respectable headway has been made in an effort to overcome the housing problem which is immediately created when circumstances cause these people to stop wandering after game and establish homes at one place.

RESEARCH

Many different matters have been and are being examined as well as housing: I should like to mention three other fundamental fields:

The work of the Fisheries Research Board—a systematic study of fish resources and exploitation possibilities. This is work which has been going on quietly and effectively from year to year.

The search for a domestic animal adaptable to the North and capable of providing food and clothing as the reindeer does to the Lapps. Sheep, domesticated musk-ox and yak are all being studied for this purpose. The reindeer herd moved to the Mackenzie country many years ago has not been an unqualified success, still it provides about 70,000 pounds of meat annually for the people of that district.

The examination by the Wild Life Service of game resources and exploitation possibilities—another task that is being carefully and systematically carried out.

RELOCATION

Several successful relocation projects have been carried out. In every instance the people moved by agreement—there was no compulsion.

In 1953 six families of Eskimos, a total of 30 people, were moved from more southerly points to Grise Fiord on the south coast of Ellesmere. They have lived there ever

since in a healthy, self-sufficient community maintaining themselves by hunting and trapping. The only white men in the whole area are two R.C.M.P. constables. The nearest settlement of their own people is at Resolute Bay some 300 miles distant. Since its inception the size of the Grise Fiord group has grown and it now consists of ten families, totalling 47 people.

At Resolute Bay there is another group of Eskimos totalling at present 72. This group came from Port Harrison and Pond Inlet, the first four families moving to Resolute in 1953, to be followed by the others later. These people also maintain themselves in good fashion by hunting and trapping in an area where game is relatively plentiful.

During 1953 five Eskimo families from Fort Chimo were moved to Churchill and accepted employment there as tinsmiths, carpenters, and electricians at the National Defence establishment. They are now well housed and have established a good reputation as workers.

The latest relocation effort saw 320 Eskimos move from Eskimo Point and Chesterfield Inlet to Rankin Inlet in 1957 and 1958; 107 men of this group now work in the nickel mine. This seems to have been a satisfactory experiment, though to switch from a hunter's to a miner's life so rapidly must have taxed their adaptability.

WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

How are we to press ahead in these various fields? What new steps should be taken and what modifications made?

Taking the matter of education, I know there are many who say progress in this field should be slowed down, while others say it should be speeded up. Those who would slow down the process claim that as Eskimo children are kept in the classroom they miss the opportunity to learn the hunting and trapping skills of their people and thus suffer when forced to go back on the land and pick up their old way of life. Those who would speed up the process argue that education is essential to transition and we should get on with it—they do not ask: "What will the Eskimo *do* when he learns to read and write and to enjoy central heating and electric light?"

What seems to be lost sight of is that educators must, and I think are, planning not for tomorrow or next year but for ten or twenty years hence. They must estimate with all the accuracy possible what the demand will be when the children they are now teaching grow to maturity. It follows that the clearer the over-all plan is, the more accurately the educators can estimate what they should do, and this is the point I wish to stress. We don't want a generation of educated Eskimos with no wage employment or housing, nor a generation of uneducated Eskimos while job opportunities in the North go begging. To put it another way: If we are to encourage these people to stay on in the North we don't want twice as many tractor drivers as there are tractors nor do we want to find nothing but good hunters when the country needs carpenters, engineers, and construction men. No discussion of the Eskimo situation is complete unless it emphasizes this element in the education plan.

What may be done to reduce the employment problem? I am told that of the 10,300 Eskimo people, about 3,000 are male adults: 450 are now employed as wage earners; 150 are in hospital; and we have an estimate which seems reasonable, indicating that 1,500 should be able to support themselves and their families from the land. This leaves a total of 900 for whom we must now seek employment in the Arctic. Is it available? I think so.

In the Northwest Territories and northern Quebec we now have 6,600 wage earners (excluding the armed services), 1,100 of them government employees. So, from the employment standpoint, what we want is 900 jobs for Eskimos from this total of 6,600—and 900 Eskimos competent to fill these jobs.

In dealing with the physical aspects of employment I must not leave the impression that I think this to be just a question of getting jobs. There are closely related and even more troublesome questions, such as: What time is necessary for these 900 men and their families to switch from their present state of living to a wage economy—and what is to happen to them in the interval? What training must be provided and how? How may this changeover be made without smothering and ruining the dignity and self-confidence of the Eskimos. These are in truth difficult questions but they are not insurmountable.

Those who have to do with health should feel proud of what they have already accomplished. I would only suggest that they try to give as much treatment as is reasonably possible in the North. I know the difficulties of this, but the more treatment there can be in the North, the more our health policy will be in tune with our general plan of encouraging the Eskimo to stay in his own country. Furthermore, it seems a pity to discount the gift of a physical cure by imposing a psychological upset. I sometimes wonder how a businessman from Hamilton would feel if he contracted a serious illness and found himself transported to a hospital at, let us say, Igloolik for treatment. Would he not be happier in much poorer accommodation in Hamilton?

On housing I would offer only the comment that it should be simple in design and that its provision should not be restricted to relatively large centres. If the resources of the country—game, fish, and fur—are to continue to be

exploited as they should, more small permanent settlements are indicated, settlements of a dozen or so families. By help with housing, can we not encourage the set up of villages from which the hunters, trappers, and perhaps animal husbandmen would work? The establishment of each such village would be a notable step forward; education would be facilitated, while with permanent housing, however modest and functional it might be, health measures now impossible could be brought into use.

The relocation of Eskimos to areas with better game resources should be supported and stepped up. The experiments at Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord encourage us surely to go on with similar relocation projects elsewhere. Such schemes should fit in also with the plan for improved housing for small groups and should be carried out in such a way as to check and discourage the nomadic habits which make it so very difficult to help these people as we should and wish to. The Eskimos who continue an old-fashioned nomadic existence must accept to a very great extent primitive health standards, housing of the igloo and skin-tent variety, and the casualty rate that goes with these things.

THE TRANSITION PERIOD

Now what are the dangers faced in the transition period? Surely the greatest one is that we will upset these people psychologically; give them the wrong ideas and the wrong view of what is important in our way of life. Already we can see in some places a drop in their native characteristic of sturdy independence and a growth of objectionable habits, such as readiness to hang about settlements and live on handouts—government and other—petty thievery, and in the case of women, prostitution.

This brings me to the most important suggestion I have to make. It is that we should take steps, firm steps if necessary, to keep these people from clustering about white centres of population *unless and until they have both employment and housing*. This condition is becoming more and more noticeable and more and more critical: Indeed at a few points in the Arctic I believe urgent action is necessary. Nothing is more demoralizing surely than to have these fundamentally good people drift into the position of scavengers, nor do we want them gaped at by visitors who will remember the dirt of the shacks and clothing they see and know nothing of the progress being made by other members of the race.

To anyone who questions the need I say: "What is the alternative?", and I suggest a look at some Eskimo shack villages and at the indications of the growth of petty crime, thievery and prostitution. I think most seriously that the Administration should have the authority to bar the Eskimo from the areas where defence installations, mines and the like are centred—and to keep the barrier well out—20 miles or more.

Where there is employment and housing the Administration should continue to seek and welcome suitable Eskimo workers and their families to such installations and areas. For the rest, keep them away even though it may call for seemingly harsh measures at first—in the long run it will be for their good, of that I am certain.

For those who cannot be accommodated with employment and housing and who cannot maintain themselves on the land relief may be necessary for some time, but we should try to keep it to a minimum, not because of the cost but because of the bad effect it has on the people. By exploiting the resources of the country to the maximum and at the same time encouraging and assisting the switch to wage employment where it is available, I think dependence upon relief can be held to reasonable limits and gradually eliminated altogether.

These things should be tackled with all possible attention *to the Eskimo's own wishes and participation*. He must never be looked upon as a curiosity but as a man and as a Canadian.

There are two points of view apparent but not necessarily in conflict in the approach to this task. One might be referred to as the advanced, scientific view, represented in its best form in the person of the new type of official, dedicated to the work, well equipped academically, and anxious to apply the knowledge of sociologists and scientists. The other view might be referred to as conservative. It is manifested, I think it would be fair to say, principally by traders, missionaries and Mounted Policemen. These people have lived with the Eskimo, know him, know his weaknesses as well as his strengths, and generally they are not in a hurry to accept new ideas, preferring to move slowly. I say these two viewpoints are not necessarily in conflict, and indeed I think one should complement the other. Both groups have the same general aim—to help the Eskimos—and they should stand together.

The Northwest Territories Council can and I think should exercise its influence to keep the principal factors clearly in focus, should state and restate what it feels should be the long-term objectives and speak up if it finds that the approach towards them is being delayed by either, on the one hand, too much theory or, on the other, too much hide-bound practice.

The long-term objectives of all who have the real interest of the Eskimo people at heart must I think be twofold: the survival of the Eskimo as a people, and their continued domicile as Canadians in the Canadian North. ◆

Maker of the motion pictures "Angotee" and "Land of the Long Day" and author of the book of that name, Mr. Wilkinson in the course of many years in the Arctic lived for a year as a member of an Eskimo family in the Pond Inlet area.

A VANISHING CANADIAN

BY DOUG WILKINSON

A FEW years ago, while I was living at an Eskimo camp on north Baffin Island, I spent a week with a group of Eskimos near the bottom of Tay Sound. It was autumn in the Arctic; the lakes were covered with a thin lid of transparent ice, the air was crisp with the tang of approaching winter. The people at the camp were busy building their sod houses into which they would move at the first blizzard. Each day men sailed the decrepit whale boat onto the mirror-smooth surface of the sound to hunt for seals.

There were fourteen people at the camp, the youngest aged 15 months the eldest 56 years. One young boy, a lad of 12, attracted my attention. He was a carefree youngster, quick to laugh, quick to pout. From morn to night he was never still. He moved through the camp and over the surrounding hills with restless energy as though constantly seeking out answers to the riddles of his vast land. As I watched I couldn't help wondering what the future held for this boy and for the hundreds like him scattered across the top of the world. Although this little camp seemed a million miles from the civilized world to the south it was already evident that it was only a matter of time before the stillness of the remote fiords of north Baffin would be shattered by our encroaching mechanized civilization relentlessly probing into every corner of the Arctic seeking out the treasures of the earth.

Today I am fairly sure where that boy is going. He is a part of a great mass of people in the Canadian Arctic who will live and die watching their old way of life slip away from them while new forces slowly grind them into oblivion. The Canadian Eskimo is on the way out and you and I are slated to be interested spectators at his demise.

Don't misunderstand me! I don't mean that in fifty years time people with the facial configuration and skin tint of an Eskimo will be hard to find. The days when epidemics, malicious killing and ruthless exploitation can wipe out a people are a thing of the past. What I do mean is that, within the next two or three generations, Eskimos as we know them today will have vanished from the Canadian scene. In their place will have arisen a new race of northern Canadians some of whom will have Eskimo blood in their veins but who will be as remote from their ancestors of a generation ago as we are from our forefathers who roamed the wooded hills of Europe hundreds of years ago.

What will produce this change? That is easy to see—the continued development of the rich resources of the Canadian north. Year after year we will see our civilization push northward, exploring and then developing, building railroads, airfields, settlements and small towns, bringing to the Canadian Arctic a new way of life easier and more comfortable by far for all who live there, but in

R. L. Sutton

the process destroying the indigenous aboriginal culture of the people who for so long have made this harsh land their home.

The Second World War marked the beginning of tremendous changes in northern development patterns. Engineers built airfields and roads deep into the northland. In the beginning most of the airfields and roads were military but they sparked a great increase in civilian activity along the new lines of communication. Transport into the Arctic suddenly became relatively easy. The bush aircraft, on floats or skiis, could go almost anywhere. With the new ease of transport for the first time the phrase "rich resources of the north" began to take on new meaning. The eyes of many people in Canada were turned northward, first to the accessible Mackenzie District and the western Arctic, later to the more remote regions of the true Arctic and eventually to the high Arctic Islands, the roof of the globe. In a world hungry for gold, base metals and oil, the Canadian Arctic suddenly found itself catapulted into a new role as one of the richest storehouses of untapped mineral wealth in the world. Using aircraft and scientific instruments instead of canoe and hammer the 20th-century prospector set out to chart the mineral wealth of this vast land.

Along with the emergence of mining as a major economic activity in the Arctic has been the growth of whole chains of military bases and radar sites. Such bases have had a major impact on the areas in which they have been built. Through their facilities communication with the rest of Canada became easy. The bases and radar sites have little effect on the natural resources of the country but they have a deep and vital effect on the human resources of the areas in which they are located. They provide wage employment to a people whose economy has not known wage employment on a large scale before.

Modern economic development in the Arctic, whether in military or civilian fields, differs from that of the past in two main aspects: it enjoys the benefits of modern technology, particularly in the fields of communication and transport; and it recognizes a responsibility towards the indigenous peoples, an awareness of its responsibility to develop the potential of the human, as well as the natural, resources of the land.

How well are we fulfilling our responsibility now that we have come to recognize that it exists? In my opinion, not too well.

IN ORDER to understand what has happened, and is happening, to the Eskimos in many parts of the Arctic it is important for us to know something of the pattern of administrative responsibility that developed during the early days of the fur trade. The trading post was usually the first organization to set up a headquarters in an area. For a few years the local post manager handled all administration. By this I mean that he compiled the vital statistics records as required by his company; he coped with emergencies. He assisted local Eskimos to handle their problems. He developed a group of trappers to supply the store with fur for export. He kept detailed records of all hunter-trappers in the area and gradually expanded the records to include details of the families. Eventually every post had fairly accurate lists of all Eskimos trading from the surrounding country. The post manager came to know most of the Eskimos in his area extremely well.

On the heels of the trader came the missionary. Both Anglican and Roman Catholic groups established missions at the same locations as the trading posts. In the beginning the missionaries obtained their first information on the local Eskimos from the traders who usually made the records of the post available to them. As time went on the mission records became as complete as those kept by the trading post. Usually the post manager and the missionary exchanged statistical information on the Eskimos quite freely so that fairly complete sets of vital statistics for the area were kept in each establishment.

Soon after the missions were established, and in some cases preceding them, the R.C.M. Police began to station members at the new settlements in the Arctic. As each detachment was set up the member in charge started to keep a set of records for the Eskimos in the area. The first records were obtained from the missionaries and traders. A certain *camaraderie* existed among the inhabitants of the settlements in the early days and information was freely exchanged. The obvious exception to this was, of course, a free exchange between the missions.

FOR A number of years this free flow of information continued. Conditions in the country were good; fur prices were adequate, local food was in plentiful supply. Each establishment at the settlement had a clearly defined area of responsibility and administrative problems were few. The trader looked after commerce and the issue of debt and relief. The missionary handled the spiritual problems of the people. The R.C.M. Police enforced law, kept order, and handled any major emergencies. All agencies concerned themselves with the health of the people. Any welfare problems were given rough and ready handling, each problem reduced to the bare essentials which could be understood by all. Answers to problems were usually worked out by the whites and passed on to the Eskimo who accepted the rulings impassively. At times rulings were forced upon him. Rarely did anyone ask for his advice

or opinion. Although much of the advice given to the Eskimos in the early days was extremely good the general effect of this practice was to make the Eskimo more and more dependent on the white man.

At the settlement the Eskimo soon found a niche for himself, his place in the social order somewhat below that of the whites but not significantly so. He rarely felt any sense of inferiority to the white man and on the trail the reverse was true. Eskimo and white soon worked out a sort of order in all affairs touching the community life and very little came along to upset the established pattern of living. There was a stability to life in the northern settlements whether you were Eskimo or white; so much so that many older northerners still refer to the good old days before there were any Eskimo problems. Those were the days when everyone was free from direction or censure from anyone except his next door neighbour.

THIS HAPPY-GO-LUCKY state of affairs remained unchanged until the mid 1940s. At that time four events occurred, any one of which would have had an unsettling effect on the lives of all people in the north. Coming close together, they combined to produce catastrophe. The events were:

1. A drop in the price paid for the white fox pelt, the staple article of trade, from a high of $35 to a low of $3.75.
2. A decline in the numbers of land and sea mammals upon which many of the Eskimos depended for their entire physical, cultural and social existence. The most serious decline was in the caribou of the interior Keewatin District.
3. A suddenly increased contact between Eskimos and whites from Canada and the United States.
4. A growth of awareness on the part of many Canadians that the 'great white father' attitude towards the Eskimos was a convenient but dangerous attitude which had already produced far more problems than had been realized.

To the Eskimos the most disturbing of these events was the drop in the price paid for fur, their basic cash crop. Trapping had brought major changes to their way of life. Over the years they had become accustomed to new standards of living based on a kind and cash economy—use of local produce as food and clothing plus goods bought with cash obtained from the sale of fur. The Eskimo male had changed from a true hunter (entire life geared to the hunting of land and sea mammals) to a hunter-trapper (trapping as a side line to the main occupation of hunting) to a trapper-hunter (trapping as the focal point of existence with hunting still providing the major portion of the food). With a partial cash economy the desires of the Eskimos had broadened. They became men of property. New weapons enabled them to obtain game more easily and this released energies for other purposes such as making trips to the settlement, or working as stevedores on the ship in the summer, or just loafing.

As a trapper-hunter the Eskimo still hunted for a major portion of the food for himself and his dogs but *his position within his group was determined less and less by success in the hunt and more and more by success on the trap line.* This fact is of extreme importance if we are to view the problem of readjustment of the Eskimos in its proper light. For "the outstanding discovery of recent historical and anthropological research is that man's economy as a rule is submerged in his social relationships . . . man does not act so as to safeguard his individual interest in the possession of material goods, he acts so as to safeguard his social standing, his social claims, his social assets. He values material goods only in so far as they achieve this end. . . ."* When the bottom fell out of the fur market the Eskimos lost not only their single means of procuring cash, they lost the entire social and economic framework of their new way of life in the Arctic. Meaning went out of their lives.

For the white inhabitants of the Arctic settlements the slump in the fur market, the reduction in the numbers of game animals in the country, the disruption of a sedate and isolated way of life brought on by the increased contact with men pouring into the north produced a most unpleasant situation. Overnight their cosy, isolated world had turned upside down. Many parts of the Arctic became depressed areas, the Eskimos impoverished nomads. Hunting equipment and ability deteriorated. Eskimos required guidance and understanding; we gave them handouts of food. Relief became a standard issue in many areas. This led to malnutrition which led to sickness. Starvation of body and mind reduced many a proud, self sufficient hunter-trapper to a dead-beat, living in an arctic slum.

Lacking any real understanding of what was happening in the Arctic we instigated the obvious measures. The government took over relief from the Hudson's Bay Company, and food and clothing were issued to the Eskimos by the R.C.M. Police, the only government representatives in the field. In effect the R.C.M. Police took over control of the cash economy of many areas of the Arctic. When Family Allowance issues of food were finally made to Eskimos through the R.C.M.P. detachments, they assumed a close control over the destiny and movement of every Eskimo. This reduced the role of the Hudson's Bay Company and also that of the missions. In the arctic settlements the relationship between individuals changed. Instead of being jointly responsible for the well-being of the group, now the R.C.M.P. were clearly in a position of power.

*Karl Polanyi, "The Great Transformation," 1944.

This concentration of so much authority in the hands of a group of fairly young, and generally inexperienced-in-the-north R.C.M. Policemen set up fierce strains in many of the arctic communities. Relationships between organizations underwent drastic change. The 'old hands' at the trading posts and missions resented the concentration of so much power in the hands of the R.C.M.P. personnel. By temperament and training many of the newer policemen could not handle such delicate situations as arose. As police the men of the R.C.M.P. were without peer, but when thrust into the unfamiliar role of social scientist they were very much out of their element. They had to face alone situations that would have taxed the capabilities of a whole team of well trained professional men. The wonder is that they were able to do so well.

By and large the *camaraderie* that had existed in the northern settlements for so long disappeared. In many arctic communities today each establishment keeps a close watch on its neighbour, ready to fight at the slightest sign of interference in activities considered part of its field. It is not uncommon for people in a small settlement to go for a whole year without speaking to a next door neighbour.

WITH THE stepped up government interest in the Arctic new faces have begun to appear in the settlements—teachers, nurses, welfare workers, northern service officers. No longer does the policeman have to bear the full brunt of the forces of change that are at work in the land. This trend is admirable but, unfortunately, with the posting of new personnel in the Arctic there has been no corresponding clarification of the duties and responsibilities of each. Many of the settlements now have four government officers working with the Eskimos—the northern service officer, the teacher, the nurse, and the R.C.M. Policeman. Four people reporting to four different agencies in Ottawa, each with its own ideas on how problems should be tackled. There is no one office of government with direct control over all matters concerning the health, welfare, education and well-being of the Eskimos in Canada. In theory the northern service officer is the senior representative of the government in the field. In actual practice he has no authority whatsoever. This has led to a tremendous amount of confusion in the handling of Eskimo affairs. It has led to a continuance of the resentment and strains in many arctic communities, so much so that very little real development work is being done with Eskimo groups.

There are three basic causes for this instability in many arctic communities: the lack of a clear cut policy on the part of the government as to the path it should follow in the development of the human resource of the Arctic; the lack of positive direction from some one agency with full authority to implement policy once it is formulated and with a field staff capable of carrying it out; the utter lack of a selection program for all government personnel going north to work with the Eskimos.

WHAT DOES all this mean to the Eskimo? Well, he gets along as best he can, adapting himself to each new situation as it arises. Perhaps I can best describe the effect of present confusion by outlining what happened at one arctic settlement at which I was stationed as a northern service officer.

One of the basic functions of the northern service officer is to assist the Eskimos in his area to take an active interest in events that are shaping the economic and social future of the group. One of the better ways of doing this is to encourage the local Eskimos to form small councils where matters of community concern can be discussed and action taken or proposed.

Success in local council work is not accomplished without some difficulty, particularly for the Eskimos concerned. By belonging to the councils and speaking out for themselves, the Eskimos are taking a bold step forward, one which usually brings major disturbances to their life. Over the years the Eskimo has acquired a certain place in the social and economic structure of the Arctic community. Through council activities he begins to step out of this place onto a different level. Less and less is he the easy, compliant, willing-to-be-imposed-upon 'native.' He begins to be a person with desires, with opinions on the conduct of life in his land. These opinions may oppose ours and we tend to become irritated with this new quality in the Eskimo. He becomes less anxious to please the white man and more anxious to please himself. He begins to stand up to the white man and to risk incurring his displeasure. But so long as he can see, no matter how dimly, an attainable goal, that of being an important person with a say in the activities of his community, he will run the risks of stepping out into the new life. So long as he feels that a major segment of the whole community is working with him he will be willing to push forward. The main job of the northern service officer then becomes that of guiding his footsteps along the new path, now urging him to push ahead with speed, now cautioning him to go slow.

At one of the locations where I started an Eskimo council there occurred a happy combination of events that saw the council off to a flying start. At meetings held throughout the first winter, the people learned to speak out for themselves, to discuss the problems of the community. They solved a number of pressing, if minor, problems. Each meeting found the Eskimos growing more adept at speaking freely, suggesting ways in which they could

Continued on page 62.

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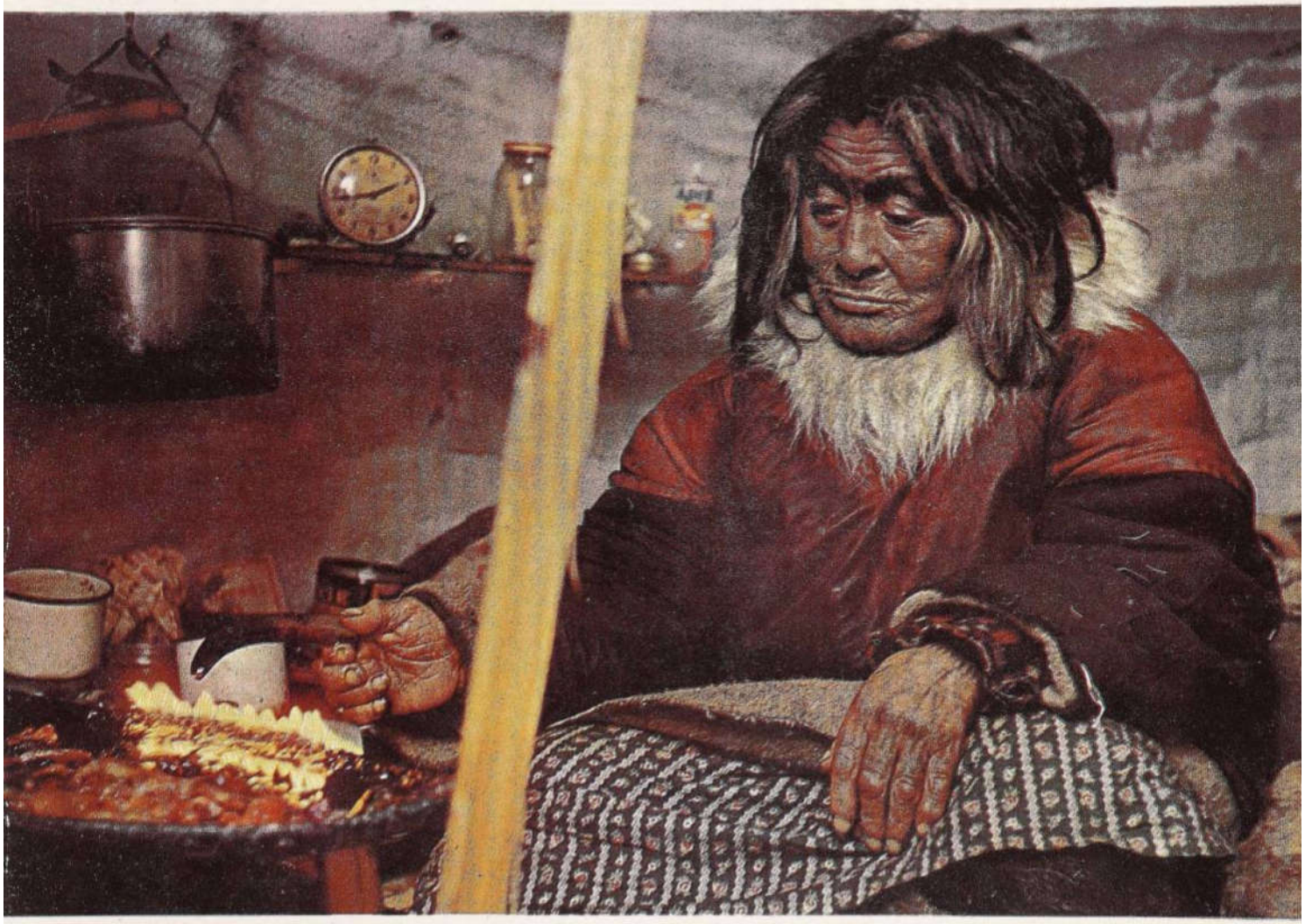
OUR WAY OF LIVING

by Father Guy Mary-Rousseliere



Eskimo songs provide the text
for this series of photographs of Eastern Arctic natives
taken against an unchanging backdrop of
sky, hill and snow house.

I will walk with leg muscles

which are strong

as the sinews of the shins of the little caribou calf.

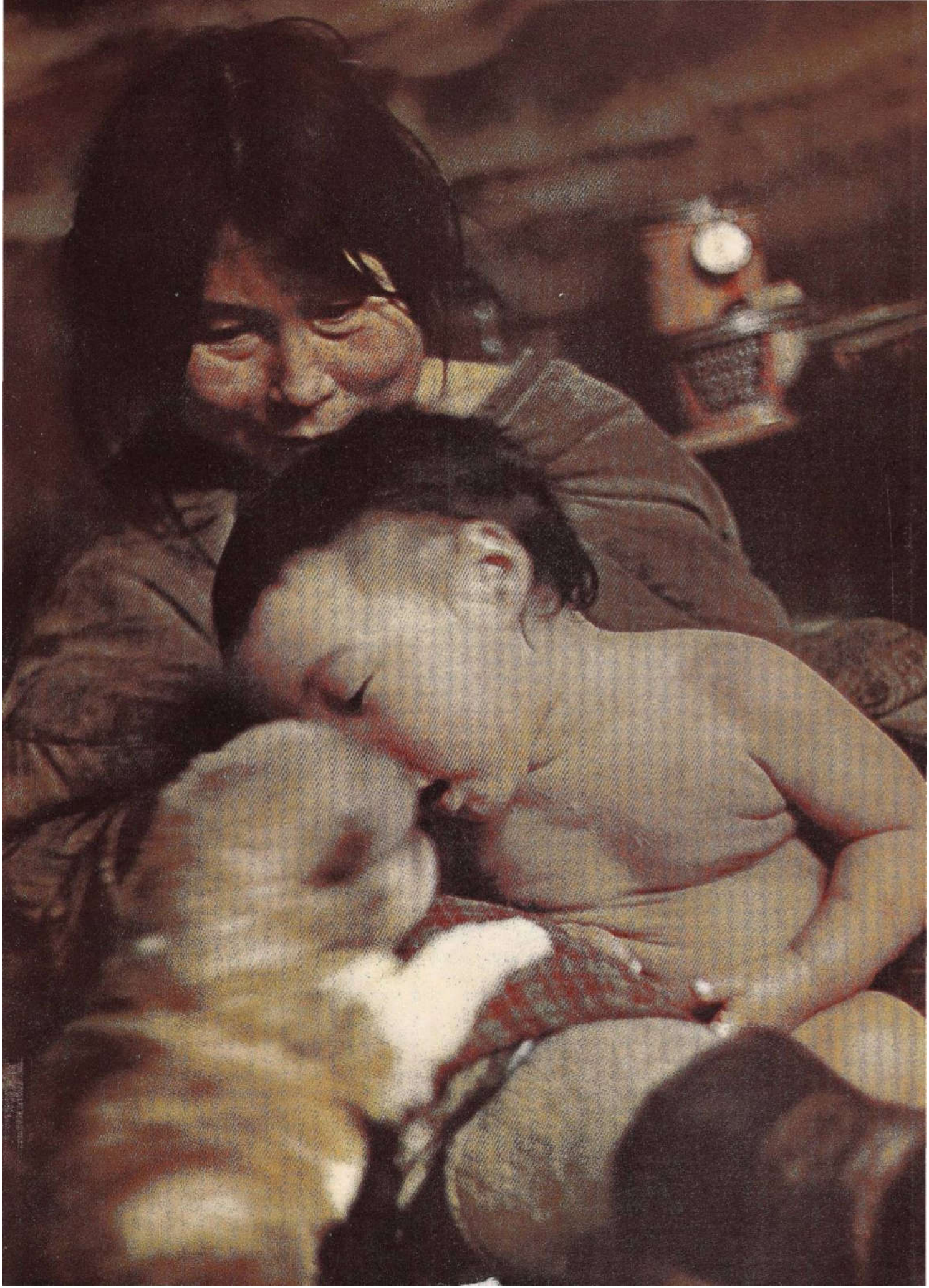
I will walk with leg muscles

which are strong

as the sinews of the shins of the little hare.

I will take care not to go towards the dark.

I will go towards the day.



Now I am filled with joy

For every time a dawn

Makes white the sky of night,

For every time the sun goes up

Over the heavens.

When I was young,

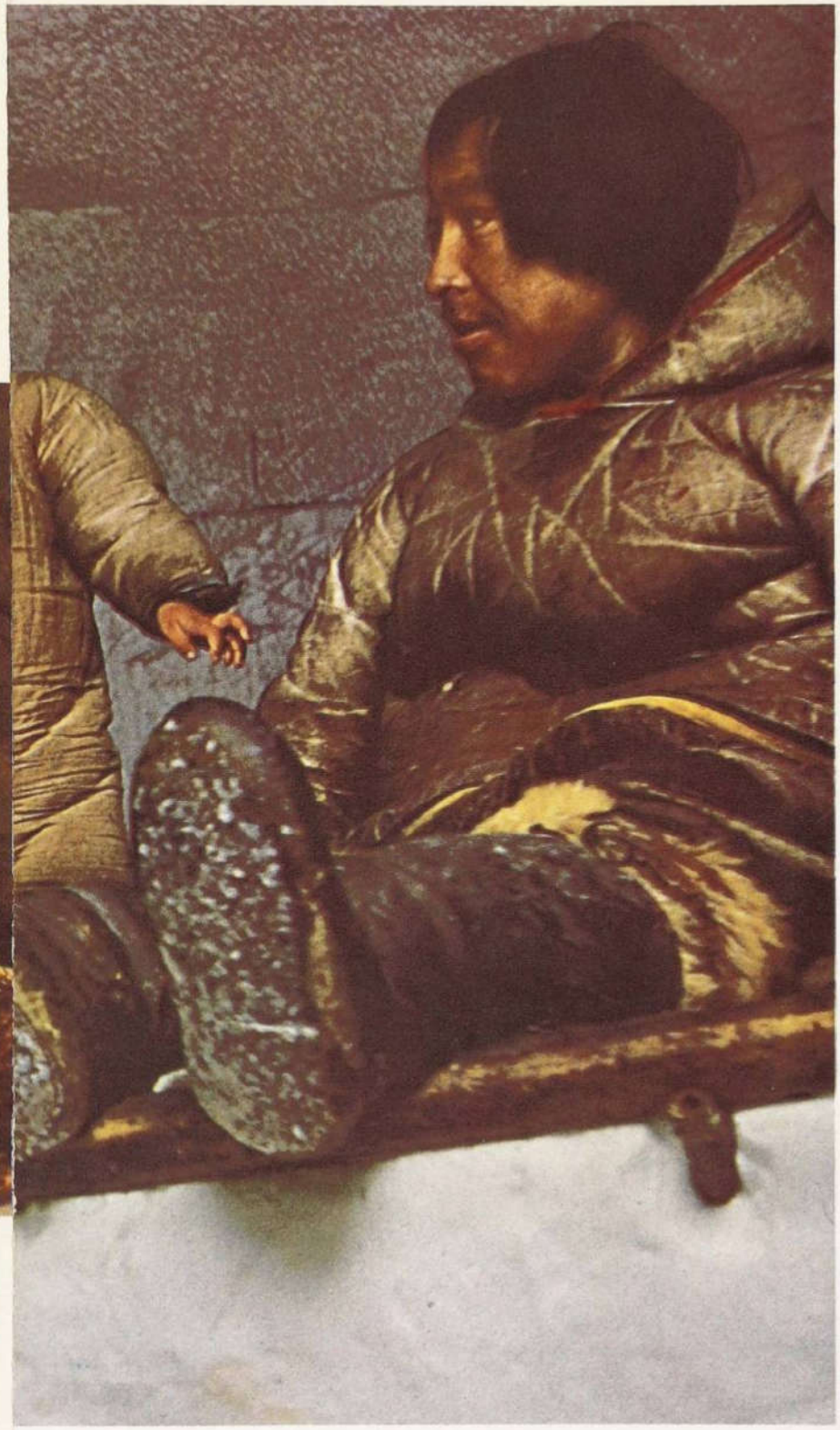
every day was as a beginning

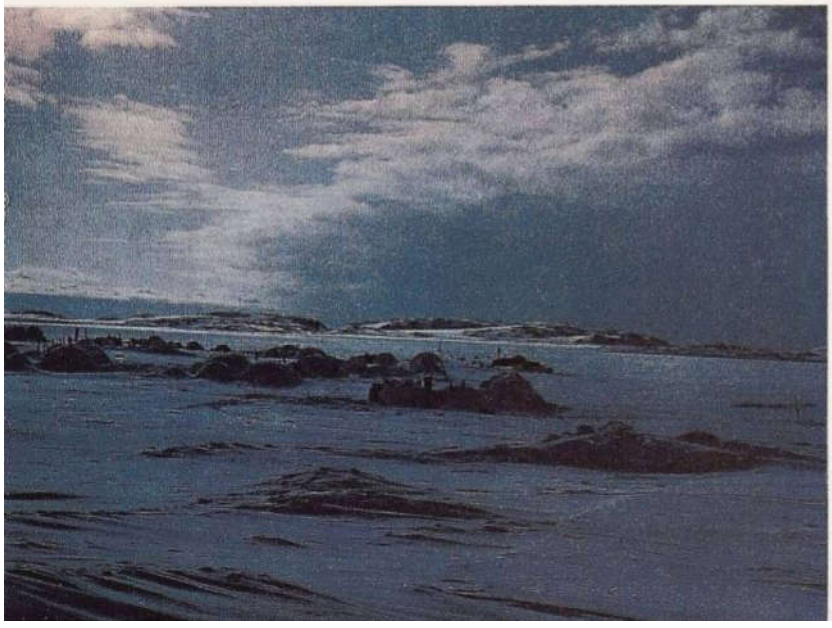
of some new thing,

and every evening ended

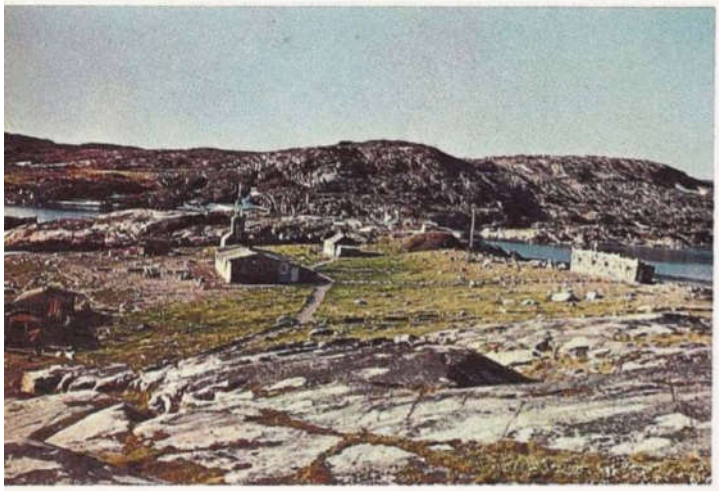
with the glow of the next day's dawn.

BIG B





The lands around my dwelling
Are more beautiful
From the day
When it is given me to see
Faces I have never seen before.
All is more beautiful,
All is more beautiful,
And life is Thankfulness.
These guests of mine
Make my house grand.



There is joy in
Feeling the warmth
Come to the great world
And seeing the sun
Follow its old footprints
In the summer night.

The article from which this was taken was published by the Oblate Fathers in September 1958.

Integration or disintegration?

BY MARC LACROIX

Some reflections on the present evolution of the Eskimo by Bishop Lacroix, O.M.I., Vicar Apostolic of Hudson Bay

THE 1957-58 season may be described as tragic for an entire region of the eastern Arctic. On the seashore an unusual abundance of ice not only prevented the normal restocking of many posts, but, in a great number of places, it also handicapped to a great extent the summer and autumn hunting which are so important to the economy of the Eskimo. Besides, inland, the progressive disappearance of the caribou, which has been noticed for several years, seems to have reached a critical stage in more than one place, leading to habitual famine which in turn must lead in too many instances to death by starvation. Famine, it should be remembered, is nothing new, unfortunately, in Eskimo country.

The government last autumn transported the surviving Eskimos of Back River to Baker Lake. It seems that with the exception of the Baker Lake region, the inland of the western coast of Hudson Bay and the eastern coast of the Arctic shore would be considered unable to support even a diminished population.

Here and there in the Arctic, such transfers are taking place. These movements of population are the most delicate kind of operation. Eskimos are not pawns on a chessboard. They belong to well-defined groups, with strong family ties, dialects, particular customs. The government more and more takes measures which change the Eskimo way of life radically.

Some of these measures seem helpful to the Eskimo. Others, on the contrary, have not produced similar results, especially when the procedure was too brutal—and it is important to distinguish between projects which are hurtful to the Eskimo and others which may be so because of the means taken to put them into effect.

Many people have made unfavourable comparisons between our Far North and Siberia, without considering the geographical, historical and other differences. Their concern started a movement to promote more rapid development of the Northwest Territories, part of the country which would have a wonderful future. It appears that roads and railways would soon criss-cross it, as if the difficulties and the possibilities and real advantages of the country need not be studied. Naturally everyone says: "What's going to happen to the Eskimo in all this?

His way of life is doomed already. He must be prepared for the unavoidable changes and as quickly as possible."

Today, perhaps, a more exact perspective is entering into the picture. The recent report of a committee of experts who were employed in studying the possibilities of northern development belittled certain utopian ideas and brought things down to proper proportions.

Without doubting the riches with which the Arctic is endowed, and of which a small fragment alone is known, it was seen that the most logical procedure was the development of easily accessible resources and that the territory would have a sparse population for a long time to come.

No one can deny the transformation of the North which is going on from day to day. No one would object either to the Eskimo's gradual adaptation to the new conditions of life. But to conclude that now and forever and everywhere he should give up his dog team for a tractor and replace seal by a tin of canned goods, is a big jump. This is not opposition to progress but a careful look to see if progress is real and, especially on the spot, if it is real for this or that Eskimo. After all, the object in view, we hope, is the benefit of the Eskimo.

We don't regret efforts to prepare the Eskimo for a new way of life, where a change must be made, but in too many instances these undertakings were launched without sufficient study.

Almost every ethnologist and sociologist that we know holds serious reservations about the fittingness of this or that measure regarding the Eskimo and criticizes what has been done in some places. They have observed that too often decisions seem to have been taken without regard to possible consequences and without the precautions needed to prevent the Eskimo from coming into contact too rapidly with certain aspects of civilization.

THE CANADIAN public frequently turns its eyes northward and it was natural to seek to impress this spectator with impressive achievements. Model villages and camps were built for the Eskimos.

Unfortunately, alongside of obvious material advantages, one finds there too often a distressing split, the consequence, it seems to us, of an excessively materialistic concept of life. Economics is master.

Very much effort has been devoted to the utilitarian, and when human problems have been studied, it has been taken for granted that what is good for the white is good for the Eskimo.

The latter has been invested with the needs, the reactions, the mentality of the white—in other words, under pretext of the evident technical superiority of the white, a superiority which is rarely of a moral nature, the white's mode of life, culture and even defects, have been set up as an ideal for the Eskimo to follow.

The aggressiveness and competitive spirit of our ways have been presented as virtues. Money is to be the basic motivation of all activity and the value of a man is to be measured in dollars. Few realize that this teaching strikes at the very root of the Eskimo personality.

An imbalance is bound to result since the Eskimo is brought to the point where he gives up his traditional values and finds nothing in the atmosphere of materialism to make up the loss. Talk of integration abounds but disintegration is the end product.

It is sometimes insinuated that missionary prejudice is responsible for our anxiety about contact between the Eskimos and persons who are not prepared to understand them, and about insufficiently weighed decisions, but Jenness ("Life of the Copper Eskimos," 1913-16) and Claude Desgoffe ("Eskimo of Belcher Islands," Anthropoligica No. 1, 1955) have stressed the evil influence on Eskimo life of well meant but poorly applied innovations.

In any event the facts are there for anyone to see who wants to: Alcoholism, which was unknown to the Eskimo a few years ago, is now a common plague; in many places prostitution has been organized on a large scale; juvenile delinquency, unknown before, is now a problem which the authorities consider insoluble.

Those facts, if no other, should encourage prudence.

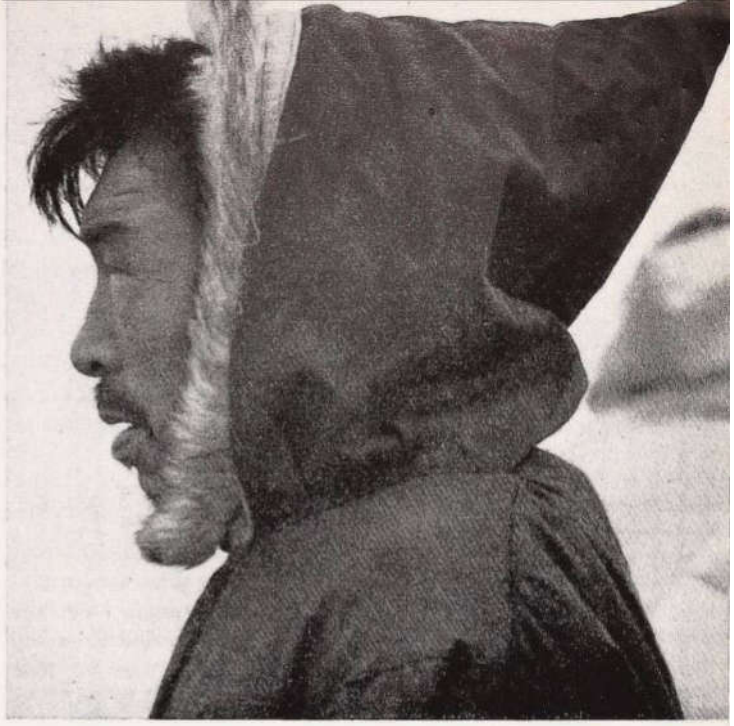
Administrators are, after all, aware of those events, for agents who have their eyes open can see what is going on. The official attitude, however, seems one of optimistic indulgence: "All that is unavoidable during a period of change; little by little everything will be settled." How sure are we?

It would be wise to remember that this situation is not without precedent. What is happening to the Eskimo today has happened and is happening to the Indian, and no one dares pretend that the results have been very encouraging. Crime statistics and others, speak with a loud voice.

The reason is not far to seek—forgetfulness that before he is a Canadian an Indian is an Indian, just as today apparently the fact is ignored that before he is a Canadian an Eskimo is an Eskimo.

It has been said that before beginning to educate the Eskimo it would be wise to begin educating the whites who will do the job. It may be a wise crack or a serious hint but it is not illogical.

Unhappily, we are behind in Canada in the study of the aborigines of the country. What have we to compare with the University of Copenhagen where a chair of



Eskimo language and culture has long existed? (It is to be noted that at Ottawa University a Centre of Research in Amerindian Anthropology has been established for that purpose.)

It is not enough to live a while in the North and solve practical material problems. It is unfortunate that representatives of Northern Affairs are not required to show some knowledge of anthropology and sociology which would help them understand the finer aspects of the problems to be solved.

Of course, generalizing is dangerous. Personnel of every rank may be found with genuine interest in the Eskimo and concern for his harmonious development. But facts bear out the presence of the incomprehension pointed out above.

There is talk at present about the establishment at Churchill of a residence for the aged and needy, in place of the one at Chesterfield Inlet, and also of a "rehabilitation centre" to which Eskimos will be brought to learn a trade and perhaps find employment.

It may be true that some Eskimos can no longer make a living in the traditional way—and they are presumably the ones who are being singled out—but could they not be left in their own country as far as possible? And could not the aged be left to finish out their days in peace in Eskimo land?

IT IS NOT surprising that many who know what is going on—missionaries and others—sometimes feel that the object of all this agitation is a batch of statistics and of impressive reports; so many schools, so many clinics—at such a rate that the Eskimo appears to be looked upon more as a case number than as a human being.

Is the invasion of bureaucratic methods necessarily tied up with progress? A shrewd observer wrote recently, and perhaps with reason: "The purpose now seems to be to protect the Eskimo from the missionary, but who will protect him from the Administration?"

Of course, it is easy to criticize. We have tried to show, at least negatively, the spirit needed in solving the Eskimo problem. We don't pretend to have any easy solution to suggest.

It should not be necessary to point out that the solution is complex and that what is effective in one place may well turn out to be disastrous in another.

Since the future of the Eskimo depends in great part on the resources and possible exploitation of the country, let us look at the present situation.

Much has been said about the limitless mineral wealth of the Arctic. Much of it has already been found. But that does not mean that exploitation would be profitable now and in every case. Market fluctuations affect the value of minerals considerably and exploitation at one spot where access is easy can cut production at another where costs are high. It would be imprudent to direct the entire new development of Eskimo country in that way. A mine on the west coast of Hudson Bay employs an increasing number of Eskimos and seems to be rendering a real service to the people. But it is too early to judge this experiment; it would require more profound study of its cultural effects. It is worth noting that activity at the mine has already been interrupted for a long period and it might happen again.

Other Eskimos have been working in defence establishments for several years, on air force bases or radar stations. The air bases seem permanent enough but technical progress may render useless the radar stations.

Agriculture is unpredictable even though the climate is getting milder.

Animal resources are still a major factor in determining the Eskimo way of life, which is based on hunting, fishing and trapping.

Perhaps it has been too quickly assumed that these resources are now insufficient. In some places it is true but not throughout the Canadian Arctic.

It is of the first importance to find out exactly what the resources of the country are in the way of game and fish, since hunting and fishing are the main sources of Eskimo food. Much has been done to take this inventory.

On the other hand, very little has been done to study Eskimo adaptation to his environment. Margaret Lantis pointed this out in 1955 and proposed ecological research. No progress has been made to date.

Practically speaking, the rational use of existing resources is urgent as well as protection of game. Eskimo

thinking on this point must be educated. All who have contact with him should help and especially by example. The Eskimo naturally thinks game is unlimited. Formerly the temporary decrease or disappearance of game was blamed on the displeasure of this or that mysterious being, but game eventually came back as abundant as ever.

The Eskimo must be taught that in the long run, he is responsible for the preservation of game. At the same time study should be carried on into the decrease of game, especially of caribou. Small-bore guns are harmful in the hunting of caribou while, on the other hand, the use of large cartridges in the seal hunt leaves too many of the targets dead beyond reach and beyond use. Perhaps some limitation of the number of dogs could be brought about in certain places; a large pack can consume a lot of meat.

Fish plays a secondary role amongst the Eskimo, but it may have been otherwise in the past; archaeological evidence shows that fish had an important place with some groups and even today in certain places fish is the basic diet for a good part of the year. Patience will be needed to guide activity in that direction and some research may be in order to discover the better spots and times. And why should the Eskimo not be the first to profit from the exploitation of Arctic salmon which now seems imminent?

Miss Lantis made another suggestion worthy of note. Use the aeroplane not only to inform the Eskimo of ice conditions or of herd locations, but also to bring hunters to the best places and to transport meat and fish.

Trapping has been frequently blamed in the past as an innovation which did more harm than good to the Eskimo. At any rate, the Eskimo today can hardly live from hunting alone because he has developed a taste for articles from outside and can pay for them only with furs. As fur-bearing animals do not seem to be on the decrease, it is reasonable to think that trapping will be a source of revenue for some time.

Unfortunately, the quantity of furs varies according to a fairly clear cycle and the market also fluctates widely. Disaster can result. Why not a government-backed minimum price, stabilized like the wheat price? What is good for farmers may be good for the Eskimo!

It would be surprising if the inland food resources should have become so scarce that all the inhabitants had to leave. If the decrease in caribou cannot be stopped, government measures must be taken. Specialists seem to agree that the introduction of domestic deer would be accompanied by inconveniences greater than the advantages, until the caribou are practically extinct.

But there are other animal species which might help. The goat has been mentioned, as well as the possibility of domesticating musk-ox. The yak, which provides high quality wool, would offer many advantages if it could be acclimatized. Recent information is that the government has already procured a small herd.

Whatever the solution decided upon, it is certain that the land must provide meat for its present inhabitants, and for more of them probably in the future.

It is unthinkable that any great area of this region should be abandoned and become a real desert, which even the Eskimo would have lost the ability to colonize. It is useless to fool oneself; the Canadian of European origin inhabits and will inhabit no more than a few isolated places in the North. Outside of his artificial oases, which cost millions for imitation comfort, the modern white man is probably even less able to adapt himself to the country than were Franklin, Rae, and Schwatka. Without straining the imagination, however, a day can be foreseen when Canada might need people who know the country and can live there, without all the accessories which have become necessities of life to the white.

WE FEEL justified in concluding that there is no reason for a radical and sudden transformation of the Eskimo way of life and if evolutionary changes are necessary precipitate action must be avoided.

The Eskimo's liberty should be protected from violence. More and more, occasion should be afforded him to settle his own problems as far as possible, without depending on the intervention of the Northwest Territories Council which represents any and all interest except that of the native. The Eskimo must feel that he is respected for himself and that his cultural heritage is worth knowing.

One of the objectives that should be dropped is that of assimilating the more intelligent Eskimos completely. The failure of this tactic has already been seen with regard to the Indians. The individual may profit by it, but the loss of a natural leader has the most evident effect of delaying the entire Eskimo community in attaining the point where it can handle its own affairs and take its place in the nation.

More and more today a certain secular tendency can be sensed. It is not expressed openly, but many seem to think that the missionary has played a meritorious role but the time has come for him to step aside since the Eskimo no longer needs him. God grant that this error be corrected in time: The Eskimo caught up in today's machinery needs the help of Christianity more than ever to come out victorious.

Modernization is shown in these buildings at Godthaab harbour in 1956.
David C. Nutt

Now professor of geography at Dartmouth College, Dr. Lloyd was the Canadian Consul in Greenland during the war and has kept in close touch with that country.

Changing Greenland

BY TREVOR LLOYD

THIRTY years ago a booklet was published at Godthaab, Greenland, entitled *Akilinermiulerssarut*. It was a report by the native Greenlander, Jakob Olsen, of his part in Knud Rasmussen's famous Fifth Thule Expedition which crossed arctic Canada from Davis Strait to Alaska and eventually continued westward to the Siberian mainland. The booklet was widely read at the time and for long served as the Greenlanders' main source of information on their distant cousins who lived "beyond the sunset."

In those days there was an occasional summer visitor from Canada—the Eastern Arctic Patrol vessel *Arctic*, which called at one or another of the coastal towns, usually at Godhavn on Disko Island—to pick up sledge dogs, supplies of the locally made "kamiks" or skin boots, and even Disko Island coal to fuel the ship's boilers on its voyage through the Canadian north. Traffic in the opposite direction was even rarer, although adventurous walrus hunters from Holsteinsborg sometimes penetrated the "West Ice" far enough to approach the forbidding promontories of Baffin Island. In the very far north contacts were closer. The Eskimos who aided the epoch-making R.C.M.P. sledge patrols among the Queen Elizabeth Islands under officers such as Joy and Stallworthy were from Thule, Greenland—natives of one country aiding in preserving law and order in another.

During World War II Canadian-Greenland contacts became in some ways much closer, so much so that a Consulate was opened at Godthaab (possibly the first Canadian Consulate anywhere in the world) to facilitate trading and cultural interchange. Canadian dynamite was exported to the mine at Ivigtut in southern Greenland, our fish hooks, rifles and other supplies became familiar to Greenland hunters, and the housewives learned to select articles from Canadian mail-order catalogues. In return came large tonnages of cryolite for use in manufacturing aluminum, and occasionally other products, including wool from the hardy sheep who grazed on the pastures first cleared by Erik the Red a thousand years before. Canadian ships became familiar along the Greenland coast—wartime "Park" steamers, an occasional Great Lakes freighter and, of course, the veteran *Nascopie* of the Hudson's Bay Company, which had opened wartime contacts with an emergency voyage in May 1940, following occupation of Denmark by the Nazis. It was on one of these supply trips that the *Nascopie* carried the Anglican Bishop of the Arctic, who used Baffin Island Eskimo to preach to a Greenland audience in the Godthaab Lutheran church. Among the little known return "cargoes" from Greenland were several school children who spent the war-years studying in a Toronto high school. They were possibly the first Eskimo-speaking children to advance so far in the Canadian school system. One of them later became a teacher in Greenland—able to instruct equally well in Eskimo, Danish and English.

When these wartime exchanges took place, Greenland was and had been for more than a century, a closed land. Non-residents, other than government officials, were not

admitted whether from Denmark or elsewhere. Exceptions were occasionally made for established scientists, but casual visitors and fishing or trading vessels were firmly excluded. By closing the country securely, the Danish authorities hoped to protect the native people from disease and from economic exploitation. The strict isolation made it possible to "manage" the economy. The limited natural resources of the country could be sold by the Greenlanders, so far as they were not needed for local use, and in return essential supplies could be purchased at regulated prices from the government stores. Prices remained constant for a year at a time and were so arranged that essential goods such as hunting gear were relatively inexpensive, while "luxury" items such as sugar, coffee, white flour (as contrasted with rye and whole wheat flour) were more highly priced. All Greenlanders were by this time settled in permanent homes for they had given up the nomadic life still followed on the other side of Davis Strait. They lived by hunting on the sea—selling seal skins, walrus hides, blubber, and some fish to the trading posts—and in the south by the products of a growing sheep-raising industry. The less than 20,000 people were scattered through more than 200 settlements, many of them very small, and few of them including more than two hundred people. This dispersed population was a natural response to the hunting economy, but it made effective administration difficult, and kept social services to a minimum except in the larger centres.

There were about a dozen such places on the west coast, provided with hospital, church, school, a trading store—but no police post, for such were unknown in Greenland in those days, and there was no formal legal system. Communication with Denmark was by infrequent supply steamers and in some cases by radio. A few hundred Danes and a growing number of Greenlanders were responsible for the local administration. But all major decisions and the regulation of the trading system took place in Copenhagen. Greenland was in those days an idyllic little community in many ways. Formal schooling had been introduced everywhere in the 19th century, so that all were literate in their own language and some also in Danish. The Lutheran Church, which had responsibility also for education, was well established throughout the country, manned by hard-working and devoted Danish pastors aided by Greenlandic catechists. The introduction of printing as long ago as 1860 had ensured a considerable literature in the native language, and the country included more than its share of authors, poets, musicians, and painters. The severity of the natural environment in this remote region was tempered by a benevolent administration, a worthy forerunner of the modern welfare state. The Danish administrators and their families lived in close contact with the native people, intermarried with them, used their language and in many ways shared their community life.

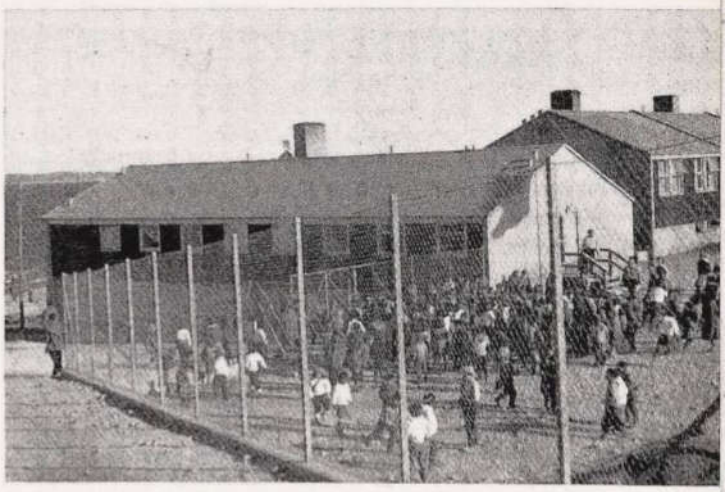
World War II cut the people of Greenland off from their sole source of supply and at the same time spared the local administrators the steady stream of official instructions. No longer would a letter arrive by summer supply vessel authorizing the addition of a lean-to on the trading store, or permitting the payment of a few extra cents an hour to this or that employee. And no longer would there be a new list detailing the prices to be charged or paid for every item handled in the store. But just as the supply of goods was cut off, so was the market for local products. The little community was faced with a sudden need to "re-orient" itself (if such is the word for a turning to the westward). After a short period of adjustment the new arrangement worked well. It was found for example that the winter clothing obtainable from Canadian mail order houses was far better adapted to the needs of Greenland than were items from the milder climate of Western Europe. Canadian frame built houses were discovered for the first time, as were hot-air furnaces and self-contained electric lighting plants. So much so that the very modest Canadian Consulate building at Godthaab became something of a Mecca for future home owners.

Yet while in the strictly material sense there was much that Canada could teach its eastern neighbour, when it came to cultural and social matters it was immediately apparent that the contrast was even greater—and in the other direction. It was a shock to find books printed by natives of the Arctic as long ago as 1860, just as it was startling to see the official radiograms sent from Godthaab to Ottawa, being transmitted by native operators. Greenlanders as teachers and servants of the church were widespread; there were many native craftsmen, and there were no "Eskimos" since the native people, intermarried with Europeans, were clearly well on the way to being European also. These revelations were duly reported to Ottawa but had appreciably less effect than might have been hoped. This was in part because of the difficulty of initiating reforms in the Canadian north during time of war. More importantly, those charged with formulating northern policies were firm in the belief that there were more suitable ways of dealing with Eskimos than to turn them into Canadians—as they were demonstrably being turned into Danes in Greenland.

Following the reunion with Denmark in 1945, thoughtful administrators both in Godthaab and in Copenhagen

realized that the time had come for a complete re-examination of social and economic policies in Greenland. There was increasing evidence that something drastic would need to be done if only because of the demonstrable success of the earlier policies. The careful nurturing of the Greenlanders by medical aid, education and improved housing and diet was leading to an alarming increase in the population. Although not great in number it was remarkable in relation to the small population and the restricted resources. The birthrate was running at the rate of about 40 per thousand, while the deathrate which had fallen rapidly since the 1930s was roughly 22 per thousand, leaving a net increase that was among the highest in the world. The 18,000 people in 1939 had become 22,000 a decade later, and was in the next ten years to rise, despite some serious epidemics, to 28,000 (a rise of 55 per cent in twenty years). The proportion of children was particularly high, producing a "bulge" that the school system could not possibly handle, and promising to swamp the labour market in succeeding years. Such an explosive population growth in a remote land of doubtful resources, clearly required urgent consideration and the most careful planning for the future. This was provided by a Royal Commission which reported in 1951. The Greenland of 1959 is beginning to show the consequences of the thinking done a decade before. It is now a community completely unlike that familiar to Canadians thirty years ago from visits of the good ship *Arctic*. Even the war years gave few clues to the coming change. The new Greenland is worth consideration by Canadians if only because it may indicate the shape of things to come in our own northland.

Some of the major reforms which have transformed Greenland took effect almost immediately. The island ceased to be a "colony" and became an "amt" or county of the homeland, electing two members to the national Parliament. Education was divorced from the Church and placed under the Ministry for Education. This led to a rapid increase in the number and quality of the teachers, to improved curricula and to the construction of many new day and boarding schools. The higher grades were able to follow the same courses of study as in Danish schools, thus making it simpler for Greenland children to continue their education at university, technical schools, teachers' colleges, or nursing schools. The difficulty of teaching in Eskimo was overcome in part by an ingenious arrangement of dual-language schools at least in the larger settlements. This permitted the Greenland child to elect whether to enter a channel using Greenlandic Eskimo as the medium of instruction or one using Danish. In both cases children take the other as a second-



Last summer a party of Canadian Eskimos and Northern Affairs officers visited settlements in west Greenland. The photos are by J. V. Jacobson, chief of the education branch. Egedesminde (bottom) on Disko Bay is in the latitude of Gjoa Haven.

ary language. This arrangement has proved popular with parents, and the quality of the Danish used by Greenlanders has improved immeasurably. It seems clear that it will in time become the predominant language of instruction and intercourse throughout the country, though there seems to be little fear that Greenlandic will die out. It has a strong tradition behind it, has its own literature and is aided by widespread use in the local press and on the excellent radio system.

Almost as rapid a transformation marked the introduction of the new legal system, complete with a police force whose personnel, Danish and Greenlandic, are graduates of the Copenhagen police school. The legal system attempts to combine modern penal ideas with the traditions of the Eskimo. It is unfortunate but probably inevitable that the arrival of police coincided with a rapid rise in the crime rate! This was due more to improvement in the standard of living and the breakdown of the traditional way of life, than to any determination on the part of the police to practise their new skills. In fact, there is much concern about the high incidence of drunkenness, the amount of petty thievery and the rise in physical violence which contrast strongly with conditions a decade or so ago. The Danish authorities are sufficiently disturbed to have appointed a commission to study the country's social life in order to learn whether the rapid material and cultural "improvements" are a contributary cause and if so whether a slowing down in the tempo of reform is desirable.

The decision to permit the sale of alcohol to Greenlanders and Danes on equal terms, which is blamed by some for a growth in alcoholism, was a by-product of the growth of local self government. Since the late 19th century there have been locally elected councils with more or less limited authority, the most important being the Greenland Council, a sort of parliament. The powers of these bodies have been greatly increased in recent years, and municipal government is now fully within the control of local residents, while the Greenland Council which is wholly elective, is limited in its actions only by the need to secure parliamentary approval in certain cases. However, rather than blame this increase in local democracy for disrupting the old order, one should probably turn to the economic scene for an explanation.

To the visitor familiar with Greenland in pre-war years, the scene today is distressing mainly because the bulldozer is abroad in the land. The amount of half-finished construction, the new roads loaded with trucks, factories erected, new wharves being built and houses crowding together is altogether too much like home to be enjoyed. These are the marks of an economic revolution that really began a generation ago with a slight rise in the temperature of the surrounding seas. This modest change brought in the Atlantic cod and caused the seals and other arctic mammals to migrate farther north. The Greenlander became of necessity a fisherman rather than a seal hunter, and an industrial worker with a pay packet rather than a proud and independent provider for his family. Since 1950 a determined effort has been made to make him efficient, if industrial worker he must be, by providing modern processing plants, better boats, and improved equipment. By 1958 the modernizing of the economy even spread to the rather inhospitable East Greenland coast when a ship supplied with salt and the necessary gear was stationed near Angmagssalik to enable local hunters to catch and process cod found to be present even in those chilly waters.

Beginning in 1959, the tempo of construction in West Greenland is to be increased. Several new fishing harbours, a number of filet factories and shrimp processing plants, as well as improved water supply, electricity and other services required by the new industries, are to be built. The decision having been made to industrialize Greenland, it is felt that this cannot be achieved too soon. Only by greatly increased production can the fishermen be given high enough wages and the government secure the funds to amortise its high installation costs. The recent approval by the Danish authorities of a plan to build a large transit harbour near Godthaab for shipment to Europe of iron ore received from Ungava in Canada, is an indication of the lengths to which Denmark is prepared to go in aiding development of Greenland.

The question is sometimes raised as to whether the Danish taxpayer is prepared to spend such large sums of money on Greenland year after year, particularly in view of the very small population being provided for. There has not been in the past nor is there likely to be in the near future any possibility of "declaring a profit" on Greenland. Apparently Denmark believes that it has an obligation to do everything possible to enable its northern citizens to live as full a life as conditions allow. To bring this about no effort is too great—whether by detailed long-term planning; through provision of skilled assistance by teachers, medical men, engineers or technical specialists; by welcoming Greenlanders to Denmark, be they sick, those in need of further education, or even those wishing to make permanent homes there. The cost of all this is met by residents of Denmark, for there are no taxes in Greenland; and the cost is bound to be great in many ways. As the recent tragic loss of the new arctic vessel *Hans Hedtoft* attests, the Arctic gives way grudgingly before the advancing frontier. ◆

THE HISTORY OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY, 1670-1870

An appreciation of the first volume (1670-1763) of the history by Professor E. E. Rich published by the Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1958.

BY GRACE LEE NUTE

SEVERAL histories of the Hudson's Bay Company have been attempted in the past, usually by a Canadian or an American author, who has had only limited access to the Company's vast archives and a strictly North American point of view. This work is quite different. Here the story emanates from an English author utilizing, over many years of close research, the newly arranged and indexed books and papers of the Company, as well as the rather numerous monographs and documents recently published about various phases of Hudson Bay and Canadian history. Consequently, this is a study of a group of London business men and their business operations, not only in the far north of North America, but also in the auction rooms, coffee houses, shipyards, and offices of London, in the markets of Holland and Russia, and in the courts of Louis XIV and Louis XV in France. There is as much of bankers, courtiers, and furriers as of fur traders and trappers.

Fur trapping, selling furs, making hats from beaver pelts, and navigating arctic waters were all relatively new activities for Englishmen of the seventeenth century. It is not strange, therefore, that the London archives of the Company are full of details on these topics, and that the author takes time to give the reader accounts of both the records and the activities. Colossal mistakes were made repeatedly by these Londoners, who had to learn the business of the Company by trial and error methods. Even elementary banking was new to them and had to be learned the hard way.

Overshadowing everything else and forever in the background is the fear of French aggression and competition. The men who induced the Company to organize in 1670 were two Frenchmen from Canada—Radisson and the Sieur des Groseilliers—who hardly saw the first Company posts established on the shores of the Bay, when they betook themselves to France and their old allegiances. From that moment until the Treaty of Paris in 1763 gave Canada to Britain, the London Company knew little peace of mind.

The two Frenchmen returned to the Bay in the French interest, seized the newly established Company post at the mouth of Hayes River, and ousted the Company's men. From these events stemmed a small war in the Bay, which in 1689 became a part of the larger King William's War in Europe and colonial America. Three other wars were fought during the period covered by this first volume; and even the years between wars were uneasy interludes filled with fear of the next invasion. All in all, the men in London who guided the Company's affairs before 1763 never knew what news their captains would bring next from the Bay, nor what their servants, staggering into London after months or years in the hands of French conquerors, would report concerning ownership of Bay forts. Dramatic is a weak adjective to describe life on the shores of Hudson Bay in these years.

Only less melodramatic are some of the characters and experiences in the London headquarters. Until 1679 a court group of nobles and important national personages dominate the scene—Prince Rupert, two kings, the famed Shaftesbury, the great Earl of Arlington, the Lieutenant of the Tower of London, the king's principal banker, and Albemarle who had restored the Monarch—whereas thereafter only Churchill, soon to be Marlborough, remained. A group of ordinary businessmen henceforth occupied Committee seats.

In this setting Professor Rich shows his unusual capacity for interpreting men and methods of that faraway period. As a Cambridge professor of imperial and naval history he is quite at home in the maze of maritime terms and business customs that fill the early Company records. The intricate way by which the Committee financed the Company's operations would baffle most scholars. But not

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Mr. Rich. Though the account he gives is not easy reading, it is nevertheless a perfectly clear and understandable summary of a difficult subject.

One of the most unusual contributions of the volume is the light shed on the marketing of furs, the kinds of furs desired by the hatters, the ways by which hats were made from beaver, the learning of new techniques from the Russians, the sales of furs, prices at various times, the glut of the last years of the seventeenth century, and its influence on the Company and, more especially, on French policy regarding Canada.

The overseas governors of Bay posts—Albany, York, Severn, Moose, Churchill—are in themselves a story of rich incident and significance. Professor Rich has made real persons of them and of the masters of scores of vessels, for whom the index alone in this volume fills a page and a half of fine print. From the mysterious Quaker Governor, Charles Bayly—who had tried to convert the Pope to Protestantism before being released from the Tower in 1669 on promise to govern in the Bay—to James Knight, who began as a shipwright and ended as a member of the august Committee in London and governor of all the posts in the Bay—there were unusual men in the important places of employment in the Company's service. Even the apprentice lad, Henry Kelsey, became such an unusual and important character that a whole chapter is devoted to him. This is an account of his explorations in the Manitoba area in 1690-92, which he recorded, partly in verse, as his extraordinary experiences among the "Assinipoets" and other Indians.

Kelsey's contacts with Assiniboine, Cree and Gros Ventre Indians have been known for some years, but there were other Company servants who also had the courage and the curiosity to venture up into the interior, and some of whose exploits are given here for the first time: Richard Norton in 1717 in "a great sweep to the Southward of the West" among the "Northern Indians" (Chipewyans); Joseph Smith and Joseph Waggoner in the Swan River and Assiniboine River country in the 1750s; Isaac Batt and George Potts in 1758 on the Saskatchewan west of Cumberland Lake; and later on several occasions either Batt or Potts, or both, in the same general area. The extensive wanderings of Anthony Henday far to the southwest among the Blackfeet and other tribes near or below the present international boundary are given in some detail by Professor Rich.

These names indicate that before France lost Canada, the penetration of the interior had been commenced by Company men. Yet even after Englishmen had at long last begun to master canoe travel and living off the land, the Company continued to "sleep by the Bay," as its

Prince Rupert, Governor of the Company 1670-1682, from a portrait by Lely reproduced in the History.

enemies and detractors charged. This was from no lack of energy or consideration of the problem of inland travels and posts. As long as the French of Canada controlled the upper waters of the rivers emptying into Hudson Bay, it would have been folly to try to compete in the interior with men who could stop all flow of provisions to inland Company forts and men. Moreover, most of the time the Company could secure all the furs that it could market without going inland, having for sale certain articles like Brazil tobacco coveted by Indians and not for sale by French rivals. To satisfy their craving for those articles the Indians of the interior would themselves travel to Company posts or, more often, acquire through travelling native middlemen what they desired. It was only when French (and, after 1760, British-Canadian) traders began to intercept the middlemen, that the Company found itself forced to establish inland posts. This change was beginning just as this volume ends.

The La Vérendrye family was largely responsible for the change, though there must have been other Frenchmen, too, who penetrated even the prairie country after the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. As new volumes of Company records are published, we shall probably learn the names and activities of some of these men, especially in the area from Michipicoten around the arc of Lake

Superior's north shore to the Red River of the North. Hints in this volume point to rather extensive use of the Pic River, for instance, as well as Lake Nipigon and the rivers to the west flowing into the Winnipeg River. Already the records are revealing a Rainy Lake occupation, long suspected but never adequately documented, for the period after 1716.

But Frenchmen were not the only persons inimical to the Company's interests. One of the most unusual topics treated by Professor Rich in some detail is the British opposition to the Company. From the late seventeenth century right down to 1763 there were protests, parliamentary investigations, and petitions attempting to deprive the Company of the monopolistic privileges granted by the royal charter of 1670. Outstanding is the account of Arthur Dobbs's almost psychopathic campaign against the Company in the last decades treated by this volume. Though the Company realized its own insecurity from having no parliamentary confirmation of the royal charter except for a brief period in the 1690s, it was unable to better its position from a variety of causes, primarily trade and business jealousies, desires of interlopers to get into the Bay trade, and the belief on the part of men like Dobbs and Captain Christopher Middleton, that the Company was hindering the progress of geographic knowledge, especially the Northwest Passage. That *ignis fatuus* and its pursuers fill many pages of the book.

A few unfavourable comments must be added. The book's format is not quite the equal of earlier volumes of the Hudson's Bay Record Society. As an example, see the top of page 496, where the first word is missing, the inking of the type is uneven, and the word "Indians" appears as "indians." A few other instances of errors or poor proofreading might be mentioned, but they are not as numerous as one might expect in such a large volume.

A more serious criticism can be offered regarding the last end sheet of the book, where the parallels for western Canada are given as 45° to 75° in the area from the head of James Bay to the Gulf of Boothia. Americans, accustomed to the belief that the 49th parallel marks the northernmost limit of the United States from the Lake of the Woods to the Pacific Ocean, will note with some amusement that the 49th parallel on this end-sheet is located beyond Churchill on Hudson Bay! This is annexation with a vengeance! The other end sheet, showing the eastern part of Canada, and on a smaller scale, is correct in the matter of latitude and longitude.

Scholars will surely deplore in an otherwise fine example of historical research and writing the practically total lack of footnotes. The author explains the omission thus: "The limits set [1670 to 1870], moreover, have proved to contain the substance for two bulky volumes . . . but to alleviate the bulk, notes have been almost completely excluded. For the most part notes could only be citations of documents, almost all of them in the Company's Archives but some of them in the Public Record Office, the British Museum, the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Archives Nationales and in private collections. Citations of this kind the ordinary reader would find valueless. . . . For those near enough to the documents for such citations to have a meaning, special copies . . . will be offered to the Library of the British Museum, to the University Libraries of Oxford and Cambridge, and to the Public Archives of Canada; further annotated copies will be available in the Company's offices in London and in Winnipeg." It is my fervent hope that such an annotated copy will also be offered to the Library of Congress, where copies of most of the documents used by Professor Rich in other depositories than the Company's archives are already on file.

I have found few errors of fact or interpretation. One might cavil at the author's use of "de" before most French surnames of gentry and nobles while omitting it in the case of one of the founders of the Company, the Sieur des Groseilliers, as well as before Iberville's name. Some expert editor with a firm foundation in both French and English usage should make a workable rule that authors could follow for such French surnames and titles.

On pages 118 and 119 Louis Jolliet is mentioned as having gone "from Lake Ontario to the Gulf of Mexico." This, of course, is incorrect, for he got only part way to the Gulf. And, with reference to the Gulf, I may add that I had hoped to find the full biography of Captain William Bond, the Company's "admiral", who was seized by Iberville in the Bay. Later he confronted the same Frenchman at the outlet of the Mississippi, when French and English were jockeying for position and conquest there. Iberville again was the victor and Bond, with Dr. Daniel Coxe's colony of settlers in his vessel, retreated once more. I had hoped, too, to learn more about Coxe and his plan of 1686 to plunge into the fur trade at Michilimackinac and beyond. In fact, eleven loaded canoes from New York arrived there only to be seized by the French. Had the venture been a success, the Company might have been faced with English rivals long before 1760. Professor Rich merely whets the reader's appetite with a few oblique references to this colonial rivalry.

But, after all, there is a limit to what one can insert between the covers of a book, and a rich treat is already offered there to anyone interested in the Company, North American history, Indians, geographical discovery, and the fur trade. ◆

THE ESKIMO WOMAN

Her Changing World

BY IRENE BAIRD

Author and information officer with the Northern Affairs Department.

All Northern Affairs photos except two by Gimpel.

Eskimo family in their new home at Rankin Inlet have modern equipment to work with. Charles Gimpel

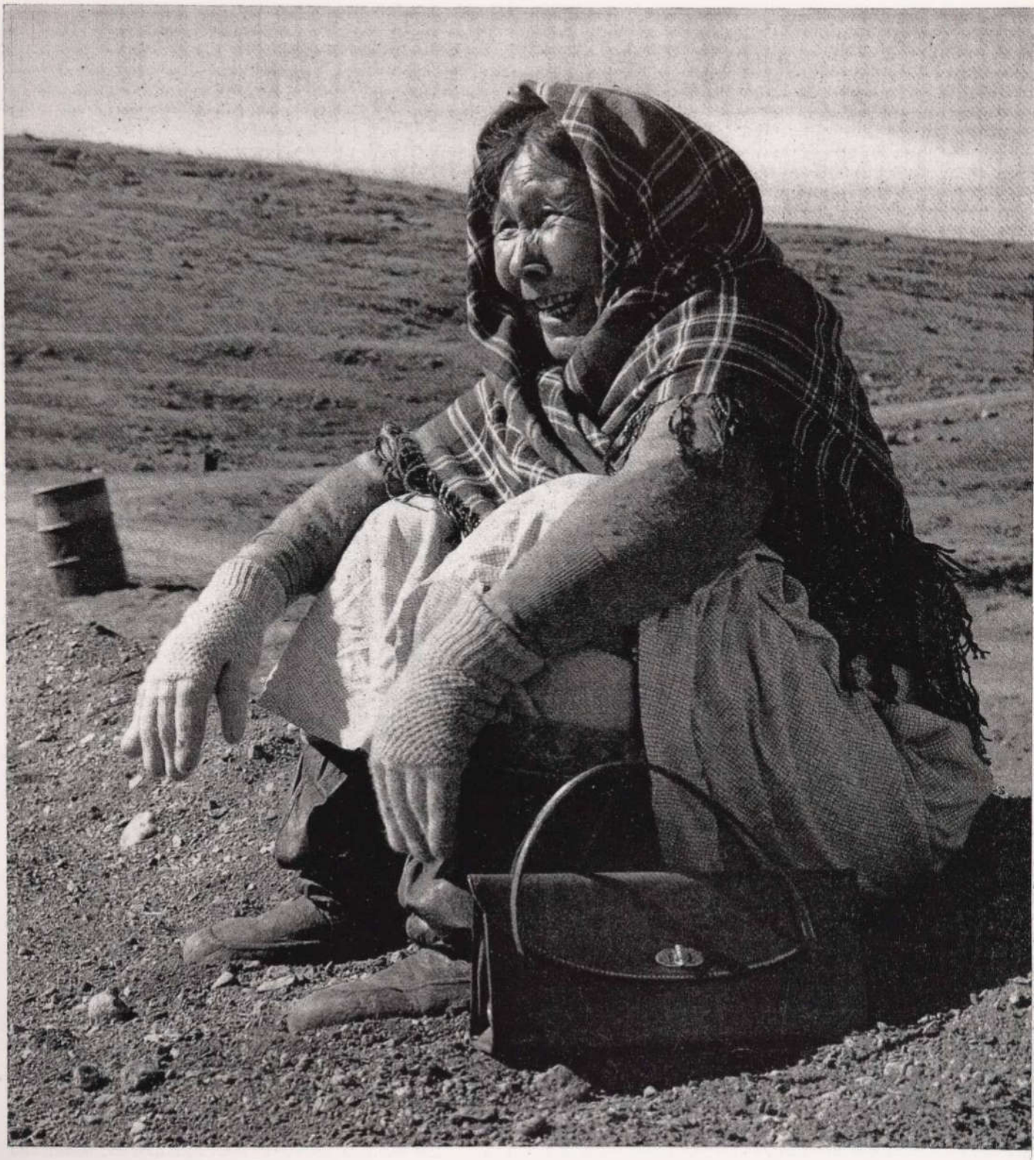
IN a society where age-old patterns of life are changing it is sometimes less confusing to be a man or a child than it is to be a woman.

If this generality is as suspect as so many deserve to be, I still think it will stand up when we look at the Eskimo woman and her changing world. For in many parts of the Arctic this change has come, not in decades or generations, but within a mere handful of years. Fewer than ten. Not long where the reshaping of human society is concerned.

We, who have had our pioneering done for us, may find it hard to realize how short the time span and how searching the nature of the adjustment that Eskimo women are being called on to make in some parts of the Arctic. We know, of course, that Eskimo life began to feel the impact of outside forces in 1576 when Sir Martin Frobisher saw his first white whale—and that for the past three hundred years other people on vastly different missions have been going into the Arctic. But these contacts have not brought about the sort of deep change in the life of the Eskimo

"I never know school is so much works!" Leah of Resolute learning what it means to be a teacher. Maxine Sutherland

Baby-sitting has entered arctic home life. The daughter of a Northern Affairs officer looks after the baby for a young Eskimo mother.



Uha of Frobisher Bay is a woman of authority. She has lived in the Arctic through feast and famine, and she can take change or let it alone. I. H. de Neergaard

An Eskimo clerk waits on the customers at this HBC store in Churchill. *Charles Gimpel*

people that I am referring to. This change is sharply contemporary—new patterns of living that are coming about as the direct outcome of the fresh forces now at work in the field of northern development.

On this wide scene the Eskimo woman—to those of us who live 'south'—may seem a somewhat remote and shadowy figure. It is largely still our instinct to think of the life of a people in terms of what is being accomplished by the men. Why not? They are the wage-earners; the leaders among the people. But the Eskimo woman has her own contribution to make to the life of the Arctic, today and tomorrow, and she is very much worth knowing. If she has the quieter role, the more passive—that of the vast majority of women in her situation—it does nothing to diminish her stature as a person or her talent for adaptability which is so much a trait of her race. Of course she is no more perfect than the rest of us. There are problems; misfits and social casualties. Not all women manage the strange crossing from old ways to new without hurt. But this is true the world over. It is not something reserved for arctic situations.

To maintain a sense of balance towards an area so vast, a life so geographically remote and traditionally nomadic as that of the Eskimo people, bear in mind that the sort of change I am referring to applies to those Eskimos who, in growing numbers and at varying speeds, are living with a foot in two worlds.

They belong mainly to two groups: those who work for wages for a sufficiently large part of the year for this to affect their outlook, and those who are more or less permanently employed. For both these groups, whether the influence of change is dramatically sharp, or an unmistakable trend, something new has come into life that is there to stay.

A lot of these changes are good. They have brought more plentiful and better food into the Arctic than the old hard days ever knew; they are bringing better medical services, some fine new schools. It is, in fact, hard to over-rate what the opportunity for better education is going to mean to the people—all the people—who live in the Northwest Territories. And in this is included, of course, adult education and vocational training for both men and women and

the chance for gifted young people of all races to qualify *in* the north for entrance to Canadian universities.

Change has created the demand for new skills and, in the case of the Eskimo people, it has done something else at least as important. It has revealed the almost untapped capacity of the Eskimos to learn these mid-century methods of work. It is a long jump from a snow knife to an electric saw, a jump that the Eskimo of average intelligence is taking in his stride. Both, he finds, are useful.

In feminine terms this process has introduced some quite revolutionary changes in Eskimo housekeeping, as it has throughout the broader field of family life.

The family that once existed dangerously in a snow house, at the mercy of harsh weather, sickness, and a precarious source of meat, may now be living in a house built of wood and made comfortable by an oil-burning stove, shelves stocked with groceries, and part at least of the family clothing imported from the 'south'.

Such is the magic of progress and a pay cheque. Suddenly within reach of the Eskimo woman—whose mothers and grandmothers lived lives of more than Spartan hardship—has appeared a growing range of things that can be owned by the simple exchange of a paper or metal substance known as 'money'. Joining the ranks of the consumers on a scale more regular and spacious than the family had ever known before can be a heady experience. Pay day at some Hudson's Bay posts is not unlike what it used to be at 99-cent days elsewhere, for women are all much alike.

Where the head of the snow house has become an electrician, driver, carpenter, maintenance man, miner, even a day labourer or a handy man, his family has moved right along with him.

Here then is one type of change that an Eskimo woman, like the rest of her community, may be grafting on to an arctic heritage. She is learning the fine points of an electric oven, she is freed from the routines and disciplines of the hunting camp, and she now has one quite new element in life—a degree of leisure time. If her children are going to school this gets some of them out from under her feet for part of the day.

One might wonder how being an Eskimo woman in this situation could present problems.

For the fortunate it does not, few serious ones anyway. But I think that most women in such circumstances would have to be somewhat exceptional if they spent all their time counting their blessings and waxing philosophical about some part of the price. Many of us, if the roles were reversed, would spend at least part of our time fighting off (or submitting to) a sense of instability and confusion.

All these innovations—the new routines of family life, the labour-saving gadgets, the higher living standards,

Martha and her husband, the Eskimo civil servant Simonee, at the christening of their twin daughters in Frobisher Bay. The twins were born in an Ottawa hospital.

and a degree of spare time—are what one might call the surface levels of change. Tangible things that can be seen, handled, enjoyed. But each has, concealed on the inside, a price tag plainly marked. For each creates a new series of social situations and the need to adjust to them with the human, as much as the material, resources available.

This is not a price that will have to be paid forever. But the fact that it is the going rate of change places the modern Eskimo woman, in relation to her world, in the class of pioneers. Her great-grandchildren will look back on her with that mixture of curiosity, condescension and respect that is the fate of pioneers.

They may also wonder how, in the old days, she managed to endure so much hardship with so few visible rewards.

But in the old hard days the Eskimo woman had one over-riding compensation. Never could she doubt the value of her role in the structure of the family. In sickness, in health, at all seasons of the year, she was essential to it. Her duties could not be performed by any type of machine. It was she, with her own strong, rough hands, who carried out the full cycle of a woman's work in a primitive society.

Paulette Anerodluk, Eskimo career girl, hands out blocks of soapstone to carvers employed at the Frobisher Bay Rehabilitation Centre.

She suffered from cold, hunger, sickness—ugly things all of them and often bringers of death—but what she never suffered from was doubt of her own worth as a woman. Life was harsh but it was understandable. No one *but* a woman could perform her tasks.

Life was so densely crowded against the immediate moment that she had no time to feel idle, confused, lonely or supplanted. If ever a pattern of ancestral life made each partner essential to the other, and both essential to their children, it was the family life of the Eskimo people. The whole structure of personal security rested on this deep, close-knit sense of being a unit in which each member needed the other. It was one in which even the children, almost from the time they could walk, did their share. Boys worked with their fathers; from their mothers girls learned the duties of women. Marriage, arranged by the parents of both young people, was early. By the time a girl moved into the igloo of her husband, the responsibilities of family life were those she already knew. The pattern of life was the same from one generation to another. Thus she lived as her mother, and her grandmother before her.

Now no one would be stupid enough to wish the old days back again. Few pastimes are more sterile than lamenting the passing of the past. And in many ways, despite their compensations, they were evil. Days of much sickness and frequent want, a time when the life expectancy of men and women averaged thirty years.

What I want to stress here rather is the degree to which Eskimo women—whose roots lie in such a past—are showing themselves equal to a present so far removed from it. Yet linked with it so recently in point of time.

Take an Eskimo mother. Think for a moment of some of the changes she is having to absorb in exchange for her electric range and the privilege of mastering a washing machine. This woman, whose bonds with husband and children were once so powerfully forged from need and proximity, now has to share her family with competing interests. Her children have entered a fascinating and demanding world of group activity known as 'school', for which their intelligence easily fits them. Why—they are even working in a language that she does not understand! How far will this mean that they may grow away from her?

Teen-agers in the Arctic can present much the same problems as some do elsewhere, only more acute because this aspect of family life is still so relatively new to Eskimo families. Young people can become impatient with the old disciplines; curious to try new ways, good or bad. They do not spend as much time at home as they used to do. But then—neither do husbands, fathers, brothers. They are at work. And this is a world into which a woman with her more limited knowledge can only penetrate so far. It is a world mined with strange skills, tools, gadgets, a language of its own. Besides, to use these things properly one must have some education. The thing for a woman to do is not to sit in her own house with all the work done and lapse into sadness for herself, idleness, or mischief. She must get out and join with other women and master the new things that can be learnt about her own world. This is the way; it is not always easy.

A great deal of wisdom and patience is needed to deal with one problem as old as time. It concerns the Eskimo girl, still unmarried, who is attractive, has too much time on her hands, too few outlets for her energies, and lacks the maturity to steer clear of trouble. In the past she would have been married to a partner of her parents' choosing. Her time would have been taken up by a mother's responsibilities.

Girls like this can be caught in a situation which creates a special kind of conflict. They are part of a society moving away from the tribal into what is often a quite alien approach to moral standards. The problem is alien, too, to their parents who do not know how to help them. In such a process there are always going to be some casualties.

Such periods of social change can be more difficult for girls than for boys; for women than for men. Men move

Making parkas is one of the activities at the Rehabilitation Centre operated by the Department of Northern Affairs in Frobisher Bay.

out into the new ways because they must; they have the drive and incentive of the wage-earners. As for the children they are busy with a whole new adventure in learning.

But the Eskimo woman is not being left alone with her problems. Wherever she is crossing the divide between yesterday and tomorrow with firm steps it is often because her own fine qualities are being reinforced by a substantial measure of help.

This help takes different forms in different areas. At the largest settlement in the Eastern Arctic, Frobisher Bay* on South Baffin Island, for example, the situations that face an Eskimo wife whose title of *housewife* may still be recent are being eased by much sympathetic (as distinct from sentimental) guidance. The Northern Affairs Eskimo Rehabilitation Centre has classes that include child care, cooking, dressmaking, the use of electrical kitchen appliances, and family welfare generally. Adult education classes, too, are a regular and popular part of the school curriculum.

In addition to the trained counsellors, school teachers, traders, missionaries—all those who are contributing to the new patterns in arctic living—there are the members of the Eskimo community who everywhere are being strongly encouraged to show leadership in their own affairs. Out of all these elements working together a type of life is taking shape that is essentially pioneer. Pioneer with Space Age overtones.

It has been my good fortune to meet a number of Eskimo women—in the Arctic and outside it. These were not the contacts of the anthropologist, the administrator or the educator, merely a meeting between two people.

Among these women is Uha of Frobisher Bay who lives with her husband at the Eskimo village of Ikaluit, some three miles from the new town. Perhaps some day they may decide to move to the town, perhaps not. Uha could be fifty, sixty, or a good deal older. She has lived in the Arctic through feast and famine; in the days of the great caribou hunts, the days too when the game failed. And she was there when the first bull-dozers came to Frobisher. She has spanned an era. She is not like some of the younger wives—running out to spend a husband's wages on nail paint and little plastic bows and ornaments for her hair. Uha can take change or let it alone.

Like any sensible woman in her position she chooses to keep a sealskin in each world. With a parka she combines machine-knitted gloves and a large, suburban-looking handbag. What she finds to carry in the handbag is a mystery because there are few calls for loose change in the Arctic. But what woman is to be held accountable for the contents of her handbag? I have met Uha—at home, at a

*See *Beaver*, Autumn 1958: Frobisher Bay.

Christmas party, at a movie—so could have asked her about the handbag had my Eskimo been equal to my opportunities.

Uha is a woman of authority in Ikaluit, and much respected by non-Eskimos. She knows what her people are thinking and her advice is usually sound. Her shrewd black eyes, bloodshot with years and set in a mahogany face, move over the company, sharp as a gull.

Uha's role in change may be detached but it is not passive. She knows what is going on. She does not speak English—she does not have to—and gives a good imitation of not understanding too much. It makes no drastic change to her way of life if Frobisher is a stop-over for four or forty transpolar air routes. Or that all this may be only a beginning.

Vastly different is Martha, also of Frobisher, who could be Uha's daughter and might be her granddaughter. Martha is probably the Eskimo woman best known outside the Arctic for she is the mother of the twin girls born in Ottawa in February 1958—one of whom was lost some nine months later through a children's sickness. Martha is that still comparatively rare being—the wife of an Eskimo civil servant. Her husband, Simonee, works for the Department of Northern Affairs and it was at their house I stayed most of the time when I first visited Frobisher at Christmas 1955.

Martha is pretty and engaging but what makes her interesting is that she is a young Eskimo housewife living in an area where change is noticeably underway. During the two weeks that I stayed with them I had to keep reminding myself that while cooking on a modern range was routine to her neighbours (the Northern Service Officer and his wife and the school teacher) it was vastly different from the folkways she must have known as a child. In the immediate sense, the house itself was new to her having only been built that summer. Martha was inclined to be shy with strangers and left the speaking of English to Simonee. He was, I thought, very much head of his house.

Last summer I had the good luck to come to know another young Eskimo housewife—Alice. Alice lives at Cambridge Bay where Jimmy, her busband, is an Eskimo Special Constable with the R.C.M.P. She was one of two Eskimos who added greatly to the interest and pleasure of those who visited the Northern Affairs exhibit at the Pacific National Exhibition in Vancouver.

This was the first time that Alice had been 'south', and it is one measure of life in the Arctic that she found the flight from Cambridge Bay to Edmonton routine but the train journey from Edmonton to Vancouver exciting.

Alice is tall, slim, with fine features. She makes her twenty-eight years look like eighteen. She speaks confident English (she went to school in Aklavik) and has five children—four boys and a girl. At the P.N.E. she became quickly and immensely popular.

Alice and Jimmy lived five years at the Reindeer Station on the Mackenzie Delta north of Aklavik, where Jimmy had been a herder. When he gave this up to become a policeman she missed the nomadic life of the arctic coast. She has adapted to life at Cambridge Bay, however, in the same spirit as any other young wife who recognizes a change that is good for her husband's career. They do not know yet what their boys will do when they grow up. Charles, the eldest (named for his grandfather) wants to be a policeman like his father.

To see this poised, attractive young woman by the end of her first week out of the Arctic was to be struck afresh by the Eskimo talent for adjustment. Alice was much more sophisticated than Martha, yet she left no doubt where her heart lay. The 'south' with all its novelties and attractions, had nothing permanent to offer her. In her feeling for her own land Alice was all Eskimo.

Different again from Martha and Alice and a world removed from Uha, is Paulette, an Eskimo career girl.

By the time Paulette joined the Department of Northern Affairs in Ottawa as a translator and interpreter, she had trained as a Nurses's Aide. Before she was posted to Frobisher (where she is now) she alternated headquarters duty with trips on the Eastern Arctic Patrol and visits to Eskimo patients in hospital. Her arctic background, combined with her training and experience, make her extremely valuable.

Paulette, very feminine to look at, once told me that when she was a child she wanted to be a boy so that she

For the children new gadgets are only fun—no problem.

Things seem to gather up round a housewife in the Arctic just like they do farther south.

would not have to stay at home and sew but could go hunting with her father and help drive the dogs. She had a brother, however, which would have discouraged most Eskimo girls in her situation. She got round this obstacle by contriving always to be the first on hand whenever her father was harnessing the dogs. I don't know how her brother made out—bringing up the rear, perhaps. Even at that early age career girl overtones were coming out.

Finally there is Leah of Resolute, a 19-year-old Eskimo girl with a totally different background, different ambitions, too.

Resolute, on Cornwallis Island, has about thirteen houses and some seventy-five people. It hasn't yet got a school but one is being planned for 1959.

School or no school, Leah wanted to be a teacher. In spite of the fact that there was no classroom, no books, no equipment, and she had no training. All she had were memories of two years spent 'south' in hospital where she had seen for the first time what teaching is and what it can do. The day would come, this enterprising little Eskimo foresaw, when Resolute would have a school and when that day came she wanted to be the first Teacher's Aide.

So she persuaded the R.C.M.P. to give her the use of part of a warehouse, collected the children (including her own brothers and sisters) and started school.

The Department of Northern affairs heard about Leah's brave start and arranged for Maxine Sutherland, of the Education Division, to spend two months at Resolute, giving Leah some training and supplying her with books and other teaching materials. This turned out to be a valuable experience for everybody. It also brought Leah next to some of the facts of academic life. At the end of two months, ready to go the rest of the way on her own, she observed with an engaging grin, "I never know school is so much works!".

These then are a few of the women of the Arctic—and I must stress again that girls like Martha, Alice, Paulette, and Leah are still the exceptions. Most Eskimo women are leading lives of varying stages of adjustment—depending whereabouts in the Arctic they are living. For some many of the old ways and old customs have not greatly changed.

But whatever their way of life they are interesting in their own right and significant to the future of their land. If the Eskimo woman is shyer than her menfolk, more content to remain in the background, not yet ambitious for a place on the Eskimo Councils, this does not mean that her role is negative or unimportant. Far from it.

Courage she has, resourcefulness, common sense, and an engaging cheerfulness—typical of her race and rooted in the harsh training school of arctic survival. She has earned her place well in the changing destiny of her homeland. ♦

Eskimo Masks

One of the masks in the University of Alaska collection.
Neville Waterfield

BY CLAIRE FEJES

Mrs. Fejes, artist and sculptress, teaches art at the University of Alaska and has spent much time with the western Eskimos studying their culture.

DURING the long winter months, the Eskimos of old who lived by the Bering Sea would sometimes assemble at a ceremonial gathering. Then there would be feasting, and everybody helped themselves to walrus, dried oogruk (bearded seal), whale blubber, and rotted fish. For dessert they ate Eskimo ice-cream, a mixture of caribou tallow, seal oil and blueberries beaten to a froth.

After gifts had been distributed and the formal ceremonies were over, the Eskimos seated themselves in a circle on the ground. The babies, satisfied, fell asleep tucked in the warm fur at the back of their mothers' parkas. The musicians sat full of dignity, holding their caribou drums and ivory rattles in readiness. Then the beat of the drums started, accompanied by the high, thin Eskimo chants.

Dancing began in the light of the seal oil lamps. Into the circle of joyous-faced Eskimos stepped the men and women dancers, wearing masks. Their dance was full of vigour and there was grace in their contortions of stamping and leaping, their strong arm and head movements. The women displayed their colourful parkas and mukluks (skin boots), swaying with bent knees and moving their bodies in a slow rhythm.

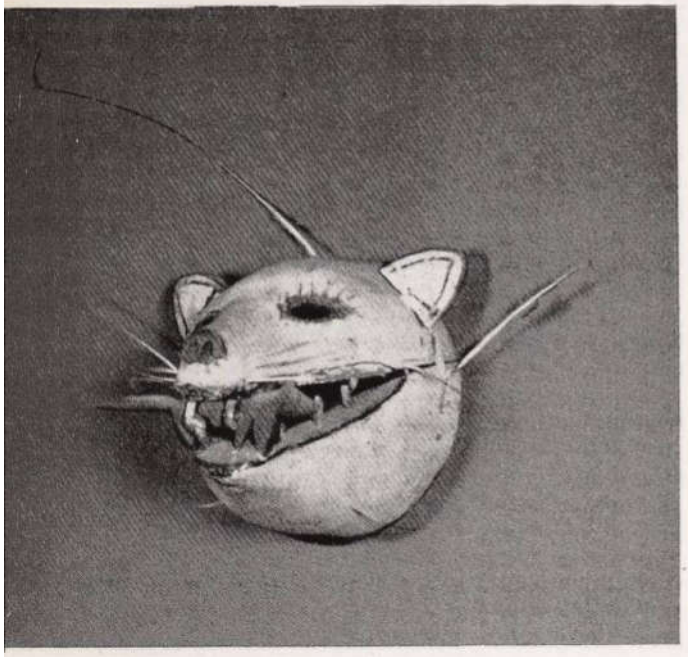
Dr. Margaret Lantis, an anthropologist who lived with the Nunivak Island Eskimos, gives an intimate view of Eskimo masked dancers in her book *Alaskan Eskimo Ceremonialism*. She writes that "their dancing was individually varied, full of mimicry and vigorous joy."

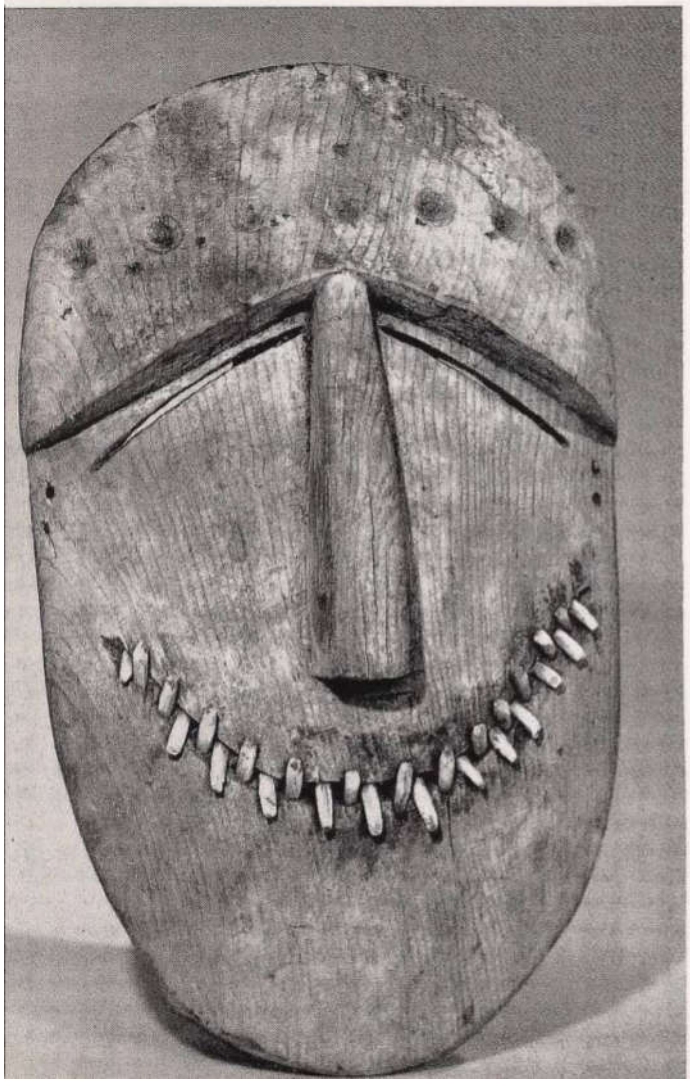
Each mask had its own dance and song accompaniment. The dances of the men told in mime about hunting birds and animals. The dancers pretended to kill an inflated hair-seal skin and performed other hunting activities. Then a woman dancer stepped to the centre of the circle of men and danced on her knees with a swaying motion, keeping both hands in her belt.

The Eskimos of Alaska still dance and sing, but they no longer use the masks in their dances, except in a few seldom visited places which are losing their remoteness as more and more Americans push back the frontier of their new state.

Today there are approximately 18,000 Eskimos in Alaska. Of their rich cultural heritage much is yet unknown because there is no written history. Their social culture has undergone many changes. Like other primitive groups, they have been greatly influenced by the white man's civilization. The natives have given up most of the beliefs and superstitions of their forefathers and nearly all now worship in church. Thousands of Eskimos have moved to the Alaskan cities, into the fisheries, and into construction work.

The Eskimos of Nunivak Island and of the Yukon delta region carved these old earthen coloured dance masks many years ago, creating from their fertile imaginations the fantastic images of supernatural beings. Eskimos on barren Nunivak Island searched the beaches for driftwood with which to carve the masks. An adze was used for the rough carving and the mask was then finished with a knife. They went to their natural environment for the earth colours. The red pigment from crushed rock deposits made the red ochre paint. They used animal blood and soot from the seal oil lamps mixed with clay to make the black colour.





Some masks were made with double faces, one fitting over the other with wooden pegs. This arrangement enabled the wearer to change his face by removing the outer mask during a ceremonial dance. Many masks had appendages of feathers and carved replicas of animals attached.

It was believed that curious mythological beasts could change their forms from animals to men. If an Eskimo in his daily life witnessed a strange occurrence or experienced a remarkable adventure, he would attach a supernatural significance to it. Then he would carve his interpretation of that happening into a mask. Eskimos believed many masks had an evil and foreboding character which could bring misfortune.

When an Eskimo donned the completed mask for the dance, he would seem to become imbued with the spirit of the being the carving represented.

The dancer who wore a seal mask, portrayed a seal's behaviour as he danced to the beat of a caribou skin drum. Sometimes he imitated a walrus, wearing a walrus mask with teeth made of ivory. The dancers loved to mimic the opposite sex and any seemingly foolish behaviour.

Eskimos used masks for occasions other than dancing. The shamans, or medicine men, wore the masks for many ceremonies. The masked shamans communed with spirits for the purpose of divining the future. They wore the masks for secret society performances and, in rare cases, they have placed the masks on the faces of the dead.

An instance where a patient was "cured" is noted by Dr. Lantis: "A man with a mask stretched the patient on a skin, having in advance prepared everything in his sleeve; blood, gut, etc. He pretended to open the patient in several places and the blood flowed. The supposed wounds were then closed."

The shamans and other Eskimos either burnt their masks or cast them outside the village at the end of ceremonial seasons. Each year they envisioned and carved new masks, which accounted for their great variety.

The masks illustrated on the cover are permanently on display at the University of Alaska Museum. The director and professor of anthropology, Dr. Ivar Skarland, says they were carved at the turn of the century, but it is impossible to give them a definite date. They were collected by Dr. Otto William Geist, research associate of paleontology at the University, Wendell Oswalt, and Frank Waskey, Alaska's first delegate to Congress.

Today, with their original meaning lost, only a few Eskimos carve the masks, which are quickly purchased by collectors. These unusual art forms have a fresh, forceful appeal which resembles modern art, and the complex, modern artist admits he has much to learn from the primitive man who was rooted to the earth. ◆

A wooden Eskimo mask from a shaman's grave in the Canadian Western Arctic, now in the H B C Museum.

NORTHERN BOOKS

IN QUEST OF THE NORTH WEST PASSAGE

By Leslie H. Neatby

Longmans, Green & Co., Toronto.
194 pages. $3.75.

Reviewed by L. A. Learmonth

WITH Canada's immense arctic and sub-arctic lands, so rich in actual and potential mineral resources, becoming of more and more significance on the international scene, this exceedingly well told story outlining the struggles and discoveries of the dauntless navigators and explorers who first sought for a Northwest Passage through or around them to the wealth of the Indies, and to whom largely, we owe that great heritage, is timely indeed.

In the foreword Dr. J. Tuzo Wilson refers to those early navigators as ". . . all but forgotten for they left no settlements, and the North West Passage to the Indies . . . proved impractical and useless when they found it." For the rest Dr. Wilson's foreword is an excellent appraisal of the book which all of those who know their north will fully endorse; but that statement, though correct, could be a little misleading to readers who don't happen to have lived in the Arctic or know something of its recent history. You see the fur trade did follow up the efforts of those early navigators and explorers by contacting the entire Indian and Eskimo population of the countries of the Northwest Passage at such points as Aklavik, Tuktuk, Coppermine, Cambridge Bay, King William Island, Spence Bay, Oscar Bay, Pasley Bay, Fort Ross, Port Leopold, Arctic Bay, Pond Inlet and a score of other places; and many of these are developing into very interesting settlements, although a few have been abandoned. Also, be it noted, long before the advent of shipping connected with the construction and operation of DEW Line, and sea delivery of supplies by our government to more or less recently established weather, air force, military, transport department, and other stations, the fur trade ships, which established the original settlements mentioned, also serviced and supplied all of them as they developed, clear across the whole of the Northwest Passage year after year as a matter of routine, and still carry supplies to most of them as each succeeding summer rolls around. But these days, many great steel ships besides the fur trade vessels ply the waters of the Northwest Passage and so it cannot now be regarded as entirely useless, although still impractical for tramp steamers travelling to and from the Indies.

Home readers who may not know their arctic as well as they should will find the various maps very helpful in following this fascinating bit of Canadian history. (The map on pages 82-3 has a slight error where it shows Amundsen's route as going north of Jenny Lind Island when it should be south.)

About the area referred to several times in the book in which the *Erebus* and *Terror* were caught in the ice, it may be worth mentioning that during the course of the past thirty-five years in running ships through Queen Maud Gulf with supplies to King William Land, Spence Bay, and on occasion Fort Ross, we of the fur trade noted there were seasons when it was free of ice. This would suggest that Franklin, in spite of the then unknown to him Rae Strait route, could nevertheless have been on the best way through with his ships, and knew very well he was; he was just more terribly unlucky than even close students of the tragedy and some critics have realized. As Dr. Neatby makes clear his whole career demonstrates he had all the dedicated stubborn courage, experience and knowledge the job required, and which surely deserved success.

The author makes a little slip when in the epilogue he says of the Americans who added to the record: "The first of these was Charles F. Hall . . . who after spending the years 1860-62 on or near Baffin Land learning the Eskimo dialects, journeyed alone to King William Island where he lived with the Eskimos for several years (1864-1869)." But Hall made only one brief visit to the south coast of King William Island during the spring of 1869 from his base at Taloon in Repulse Bay. It is unfortunate that he didn't put in those several years at King William Island because it is obvious that it was the imperfect knowledge of the Eskimo language on the part of Hall and the troublesome whaling sailors Bayne and Coleman which made them confuse Repulse Bay Eskimo stories about John and James Ross and Dr. Rae with tales of the Franklin disaster, and which led Hall to waste so much time and effort following false leads, and strangely enough also led Major L. T. Burwash astray. (See Department of Interior's "Report on Investigations, Canada's Western Arctic—1925-26 1928-29 and 1930.") Incidentally Repulse Bay not King William Island, is still the main source of the many wild and woolly rumours that continue to circulate about Franklin and Crozier.

This first class book should be placed in every DEW Line library and so bring to the attention of the many strangers a most fascinating and authoritative introduction to the early history of the country they are visiting. It could be included with benefit on Canadian bookshelves everywhere, but especially on the bookshelves of our northern stations, government and otherwise, where interested on-the-spot readers would find it a useful guide through the fog of speculative and confusing literature they will meet with dealing with the Franklin disaster, not the least foggy of which is, and will be, newspaper "ballyhoo" and wishful thinking.

Mr. Learmonth spent many years at isolated posts along the Northwest Passage. He made a special study of the Franklin expedition and subsequent searches, and investigated many of the localities himself.

SALMON OF THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST: Fish vs. Dams

By Anthony Netboy

Binfords and Mort, Portland, Ore.
122 pages. $3.00.

Reviewed by Roderick Haig-Brown

MR. Netboy has written a very useful and informative book, with a somewhat misleading title. His discussion covers not the Pacific Northwest, but almost exclusively the Columbia river watershed; he deals at length and thoroughly with salmon and dams—but again his discussion does not extend beyond the Columbia watershed.

Mr. Netboy says of himself: "Although I have been associated with a power development agency, I am not a 'power man'; nor am I a sentimental advocate of the fishing interests." His intention is to set down the facts without bias in such a way that a layman can understand them. In this he has been remarkably successful; any layman can read this book and come away with a better understanding of the complexities of Fish-Power problems than he had before, at least in so far as the Columbia watershed is concerned. Mr. Netboy is at pains to be fair and to present both sides throughout. Only occasionally is the power man revealed, as when he compliments the Oregonians who fought the Pelton dam on the Deschutes with

the patronising phrase that it was "a conservationist battle in which they went down to glorious defeat." And Mr. Netboy's conclusion, which adds up to Fish *and* Power if possible, but power anyway, is the standard power man's conclusion. Elsewhere Mr. Netboy generously admits of the New England states: "In many cases the salmon would now have a greater value, if they existed, than the industries which replaced them."

The book is full of accurate and valuable information and it is a valuable warning to Canadians who are facing the same problems on this side of the line. The Columbia was a badly damaged river before the power interests moved in. Unregulated small dams, bad logging practices, irrigation, pollution and other abuses had blocked or destroyed thousands of miles of spawning and rearing water, and overfishing had played its part. All this made the attacks of the power people far more certain of success than they would otherwise have been. The timing too was in their favour—defence urgencies in both World War II and the Korean war overruled sound practice. It remains a tragic story. The Columbia was once one of the world's great salmon rivers—so far as chinook salmon are concerned, the greatest. Not only can this greatness never be restored, but what is left of it seems certain to be eaten away by more and more dams. Only twenty years ago Columbia river chinooks made up 65 per cent of the catch of this species off the west coast of Vancouver Island and the Queen Charlottes. Today the figure is around 15 per cent and likely to go lower.

It is only fair to say that Mr. Netboy has generally understood the problems of the fish men and expressed them well. But in this writer's view, he considerably overestimates the successes and possibilities of artificial propagation and, far more serious, he has failed to understand that the basic resource is not really in the fish run themselves, but in the freshwater habitat that produces them. This is a critical point. The dams destroy or modify this habitat to the detriment of the fish. In doing so the possibility of building up the runs to, and possibly beyond, their original abundance—as is now being done on the Fraser—is forever lost. And the transfer of runs to other suitable waters is in no real sense a gain, because this merely achieves something that could have been done anyway from the surplus of an increased escapement.

Mr. Netboy seems not to consider the vastly improved status of thermal power generally and the certainty that nuclear power will make hydro power seem outdated and clumsy within a very short period—probably within twenty years. It is one of the tragedies of the Columbia that these developments are too late to save it. But it is important for Canadians to remember, in reading Mr. Netboy's book, that the timing on, for instance the Fraser, is altogether different. Here the salmon runs have already been handsomely restored and even greater improvements will show in the near future; and it is certain that nuclear power will be fully competitive with hydro power before the river's potential is needed.

These comments should not be taken as adverse criticism of Mr. Netboy's book. It remains a concise and valuable account of the Columbia developments. It is a book I shall keep on my shelves and refer to often, as should anyone who professes an interest in the great and exciting resource that the Pacific salmon rivers represent. It is informed, thorough, and as fair to both sides as any one man's account can be or should be.

Judge Haig-Brown, who has written many books on fishing and outdoor subjects, is particularly interested in the problems of water usage.

SCHOOL-HOUSE IN THE ARCTIC

by Margery Hinds

Geoffrey Bles, London, and Don Mills, Ont. 223 pages. 21/- and $4.50.

Reviewed by Eva Beckett

THIS is a crisp, well-told account of the author's experience as a welfare teacher in the Canadian Arctic. It is a timely book. For so very little has yet been written about education in the changing north that few people are aware there are government schools in the Arctic, or welfare teachers; much less, that tremendous strides have been made during the past decade in the field of Eskimo health and education.

The book is much more than a personal journal. It is the story of pioneer work in Eskimo education and, as such, Margery Hinds is well qualified to write it. The first welfare teacher to be appointed, Miss Hinds has had many years of arctic experience and has been eminently successful in her work. She has laid the groundwork of education in several Eskimo communities and, at present, is the welfare teacher at Arctic Bay, a tiny outpost far north of the Arctic Circle.

It was while teaching in Lapland that Miss Hinds, a cultured Englishwoman, decided to seek a position among Eskimos of northern Canada. When no such position was available on her arrival in Canada, she accepted the appointment of welfare teacher to the Loucheux Indians at Fort McPherson. But when she learnt, at the conclusion of a happy year among these people, that a similar position would soon be available in an Eskimo community at Port Harrison, she eagerly accepted it.

Her book is readable and entertaining. In it she tells of her travels in the north, of the people she meets, her schools, her pupils, of lessons taught in tent and igloo homes both in the settlements and in far-off camps, and she freely discusses her methods—sometimes quite unorthodox—of teaching primitive pupils, whether of school age or older.

Her readers are aware that the path of a welfare teacher is not always an easy one. Trying living conditions, temperamental pupils, teaching through the help of an interpreter, hazardous modes of travel, frequent dissension among the few white people of the community are problems that demand courage and stamina of a rare type in one whose work it is "to teach all who are willing to learn and to attend to certain matters of welfare."

While Miss Hinds is not a sentimentalist, she has such a love of the pristine beauty of the north her readers cannot but be happy that she occasionally finds time to climb to a hilltop to view the glory of an arctic sunset, or to write even briefly of the "magic of an arctic spring." Her description of these is delightful.

The book is illustrated with a number of good photographs in black and white. But it has no map of the Canadian Arctic in the end covers or elsewhere.

Mrs. Beckett, author and photographer, has spent many seasons in the north.

FROM THE ENDS OF THE EARTH

An Anthology of Polar Writings Found by Augustine Courtauld

Oxford University Press, Toronto. 423 pages. $4.25.

Reviewed by J. Keith Fraser

NUMEROUS excellent books have been written on the history of exploration and several on exploration in the polar regions. In general, they have tended to stress the achievements, the successive discoveries building one upon the other, the attainment of objectives, and were apt to ignore the chronicled feelings of the explorers. One still inclines in archival research to separate the factual descriptions from the philosophy, to gloss over the thoughts as one gleans the cold data pertinent to the task in hand. With fine disregard for scientific description, the early explorers filled their reports with attempts to convey their impressions of the polar lands differing so radically from their homelands. It is

with their thoughts more than their deeds that this anthology is concerned.

Anthologies lend themselves to little criticism except in the choice of selections and in this regard one can but appreciate the taste with which Augustine Courtauld has made his choice. He elected to group the selections into five eras. The Age of Conjecture includes passages from the Greeks and the early legends concerning Iceland. The Norse voyages of discovery follow in The Age of the Vikings. The Age of the Merchant Adventurers contains writings by the mariners who searched out the approaches to the Northwest and Northeast Passages. During the Age of the Navy "most of the expeditions were naval ones and showed amazing fortitude and suffered from incredible bad luck." The last fifty years Courtauld designates as The Age of Attainment.

This collection emphasizes the fact that so many polar explorers were men who could express themselves intelligibly and in many instances in memorable prose. John Davis wrote in the sixteenth century of a misconception still widely held today: ". . . we find by experience that the auncient Geographers had not the due consideration of the nature of these zones, for three times I have been within the Artick frozen zone, where I found the ayre very temperate, yea and many times in calme wether marveilous hot. . . ." Courtauld has included some of the most stirring passages from the literature of exploration, words of sadness, sacrifice, faith and elation. The sentence in M'Clintock's report of the fate of Sir John Franklin's expedition: "It was a melancholy truth that the old woman spoke when she said, 'They fell down and died as they walked along'." Scott, in his diary of the brave death of Oates: "He said, 'I am just going outside and may be some time.' He went out into the blizzard and we have not seen him since." Shackleton's admission of a Higher Power: "I know that during that long and racking march of thirty-six hours over the unnamed mountains and glaciers of South Georgia it seemed to me often that we were four, not three."

Frobisher, Barents, Baffin, Foxe, Hans Egede, Cook, Scoresby, M'Clure, Rae, Nansen, Peary, Stefansson, Rasmussen, Watkins and others are represented in this collection. Courtauld is to be congratulated in bringing together in a volume small enough to carry in a packsack, these passages from books often too long or scarce to be easily read today. It has endpaper maps of the two polar regions; one regrets the errors in locating some of the northern expeditions, such as Franklin, Rae and Back.

Mr. Fraser is head of the northern Canada research section, Geographical Branch.

KLONDIKE: The Life & Death of The Last Great Gold Rush

by Pierre Berton

McClelland & Stewart, Toronto, 457 pages. $6.00.

Reviewed by Douglas Leechman

THE great gold rush to the Klondike, the famed "Trail of '98", has made a far greater appeal to the imagination than that of 1849 in California, or of 1851 to Australia. Both of these were larger, involving more men, more ships, and more gold, but the Klondike rush differed in two important respects. First, in the difficulty with which the mines were reached, and secondly in the problems posed by gravels cemented by permafrost into something resembling concrete. Then again, the Klondike rush is fresher in our memories, and there are hundreds still living who took part in the great adventure.

This account of the gold rush by Pierre Berton is by far the best yet written. There are two others that come near it: Tappan Adney's *Klondike Stampede* and Kathryn Winslow's *Big Pan-Out*. Adney was on the spot as a correspondent for *Harper's Weekly* and his is the best and most complete eye-witness report we have; Miss Winslow's, though excellent, was written many years after the events described. Neither of these is anything like as complete as Berton's. Nor are they as well-documented, for he has done a most thorough job of research and his bibliography is extensive.

Hundreds of books and articles have been written on this subject and in these many sources contradictions, exaggerations, inventions, and downright lies abound. Sorting the truth from the fiction was a major undertaking, but Berton talked with the old-timers, he read their diaries and other contemporary accounts, studied the files of newspapers published both in Dawson and Outside, and has come up with a book full of anecdote and incident, and as close to the actual truth as any fallible author (for there are none infallible) can come. The style is vivid and competent and reflects the author's long experience as a writer.

Having been born in White Horse and having spent much of his youth in the Yukon, Berton has a love for the country readily understood and shared by anybody who has ever lived there. Moreover, tales of the great gold rush were daily fare in his home and his interest in the history of that incredible Odyssey has grown with the years, so that there could be few more competent to write this stirring and factual book.

That there are no pictures is a cause for real regret, especially as they are so readily available. There are a few slips of the pen that may be corrected in a future edition. Yukon, rather than meaning "The Greatest," means "Big River," and the Alaska Purchase was in 1867 rather than in 1869 (both p. 5). Caribou Crossing, now Carcross, is not actually on Lake Tagish (p. 427) and I had always understood that Tagish Charley fell off the bridge at Carcross on Christmas Eve, or Christmas Day (p. 428), a time of the year when more people than usual fall off bridges.

It's first rate reading and sound history and a must for any collector of Western Canadiana.

Dr. Leechman, author and archaeologist, has made a close study of the Yukon, where he has spent considerable time.

THE THIRTY SECOND STATE

A Pictorial History of Minnesota

by Bertha L. Heilbron

Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul. 306 pages. $8.95.

Reviewed by Douglas Kemp

READERS of this exciting volume will undoubtedly share the gratification that must be felt by the Minnesota Historical Society in its publication. Its author has served the Society for twenty-five years and is presently the editor of the Society's quarterly, *Minnesota History*. It is doubly fitting that this the first comprehensive pictorial history of the state should be produced by one who has long worked so effectively to preserve its past and who, in this work, realizes the culmination of an active career of bringing to view Minnesota's pictorial record.

The book is divided into two parts. The first, "From Unexplored Wilderness to Frontier Territory, 1654-1858," is composed of thirteen chapters in which the many phases of early development are treated chronologically. The second, "A Century of Statehood, 1858-1958," has fourteen chapters in which a century of progress is reviewed topically. The emphasis throughout is on the visual record but each chapter contains a brief written account which admirably complements the picture story and caption notes enhance the value of the illustrations.

Canadian readers with an interest in the history of the West will especially delight in the pictures which make up the first part of this book. Even after man-made boundaries divided and national policies separated the territories north and south, the course of development of a natural geographic unit was not to be greatly altered and consequently common experiences abound. Scores of paintings, prints, sketches, maps and photographs chosen principally for the history they

portray but nonetheless artistically appealing make a dramatic contribution to the historiography of the West.

The topical arrangement of part two gives the author scope to reveal her command of the many aspects of the history of her state. Here is celebrated one hundred years of growth and expansion in the economic, political, social and cultural life of the commonwealth. Much of the detail is unfamiliar to this reviewer but it makes for absorbing reading and viewing.

To repeat, this is an exciting volume. It is spectacular throughout and every care has been taken to make the physical book worthy of its subject in quality of paper, printing and binding.

Mr. Kemp is a high-school teacher with a particular interest in western history.

AMOR DE COSMOS

by Roland Wild

The Ryerson Press, Toronto, 146 pages. $4.00.

Reviewed by C. M. Atkinson

LIFTING a name from the yellowing pages of a pioneer newspaper and making it live and breathe as a vibrant personality is no easy task. Particularly is this so when private papers, letters and contemporary reminiscences are none too plentiful. Yet that is what Vancouver author, and former newspaper man, Roland Wild, has done in his vivid portrait of Amor de Cosmos, editor and founder of Victoria's newspaper, the *Colonist*, and citizen extraordinary of the little capital in the years 1858 to 1897.

Mr. Wild's biography has accomplished a task which much needed doing. That was to rescue Amor de Cosmos from the lopsided theory that he was merely the "man who changed his name" from plain William Alexander Smith to the fantastic conglomerate "Lover of the Universe." For Amor de Cosmos emerges from the pages of this concise but absorbing book as a great man, one of Canada's most fearless and constructive statesmen. The present life of British Columbia's second premier proves clearly that de Cosmos was no vain poseur who wielded an editorial pen dripping with excoriating phrases.

Mr. Wild has avoided the error made by so many writers who attempt a biography where source material is scanty. He has not wandered into imaginary bypaths, however alluring, in an attempt to explain the obscure in the life of his subject. The temptation to do so might have been great for a less honest biographer. For without doubt the life of de Cosmos lends itself most enticingly to psychological rationalizing. Surely no more tantalizing figure lived through the tempestuous days which saw the end of the era under the rule of King Fur as administered by the Honourable Hudson's Bay Company and the beginning of responsible government on a remote island off the Pacific seaboard.

"An independent man, fierce in his protestations, a man who believed that the individual who makes no mistakes makes no history either, he strove faithfully for an ideal, a dream, whose realization is his true monument." This is the summing up which Mr. Wild gives to the enigmatic man whose memory has lain too long in obscurity. Amor de Cosmos, he says, was a fighter and a patriot. That he was also a mystery to many of his contemporaries and to innumerable successors in the legislative chambers over which he presided as premier is a matter of far less importance.

To present day editors, still harassed by power hungry big-wigs, clamouring creditors and reluctant debtors, this story of B.C.'s first fighting journalist should be an inspiration and a guide to fresh awareness of their public duty. In the limited space afforded by his little weekly (he soon boasted it would become a daily) de Cosmos fought for the rights of the common man. He fought also for an end to the benevolent despotism of the Hudson's Bay Company, for responsible government for the Colony, and later for the removal of the government's prerogative of patronage.

More than any other title given to him by those who admired, reviled or neglected him both during his lifetime and in the hundred years following his dramatic arrival in Fort Victoria, this pioneer earned the one given him by his present biographer—The Angry Victorian.

As Mr. Wild has pointed out, the motive spring of de Cosmos' life was his own inspired remark: "It is too late to stop men thinking."

Corday Mackay Atkinson is a frequent contributor to historical journals, with a particular interest in the Pacific region.

WITHOUT FEAR, FAVOUR OR AFFECTION

by Vernon A. M. Kemp

Longmans, Green, Toronto. 263 pages. $4.50.

Reviewed by Harry Taylor

THANKS to the fiction writers, the Mounted Police have long been Canada's world-wide trademark.

In addition to reams of melodrama and a few histories, two or three reminiscence type books have been written by members of the Force. This is the latest, by a former Assistant Commissioner.

The present Commissioner, L. H. Nicholson, begins his brief introduction to this new volume with:

"Over the years many books have been written on the Mounted Police in Canada, but it can truly be said that few have been received with any noticeable enthusiasm by the men of the Force."

One could add that none have been received with any noticeable enthusiasm by the general public either. The histories were dull and imitative, the memoir writings did not appeal to the members of the Force, who knew too much, or to the general public who were not told enough.

Mr. Kemp's book is autobiographical, a difficult angle from which to word-paint such a wide and sweeping canvas as is the story of the Mounted Police. There is, inevitably, a natural inclination to make frequent mention of comrades and other personages who can only be shadow figures to outsiders, and incidents, humorous and otherwise, which have a particular appeal to Police personnel, often have but little interest for the public at large.

Without Fear, Favour or Affection, covering many years and a lot of territory can, perforce, only generalize, but the reader will get a look at various aspects of the work of the R.C.M. Police, presented in easily readable form.

Mr. Taylor, now a journalist, was in the Mounted Police from 1913 to 1928.

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Continued from page 28.

better utilize the resources of the area, mediating in individual grievances, looking into the future in a way they had not done before. When the administrative officers from Ottawa made their annual visit to the settlement they sat in session with the council. For the first time in the history of government arctic patrols, government officers met with an organized council of Eskimos in the Eastern Arctic and talked with them about the problems of development.

For a year the council functioned well. Directly or indirectly almost everyone in the settlement assisted. By good fortune the white residents of the community got along well together in a business and personal way. Differences were many but tolerance was high. The Eskimos seemed on the way to carving a new niche for themselves in the life of the community.

As is usual in the northern settlements the second year saw some of the whites leave for the south and new ones take their place. Unfortunately the newcomers were not of the same calibre as the people they replaced. Within a few weeks a number of rifts appeared between whites in the settlement. People stopped speaking to neighbours, petty jealousies erupted. Tolerance and understanding disappeared.

For a while the Eskimo council continued to meet. But slowly a change set in. Eskimos came to council meetings but they began to withdraw into themselves once more, to step down from their new position. They began to revert to their former compliance. And why not? With strife between members of the white community all about them they became uncertain and confused. To whom should they look for advice and guidance when the people who should be helping them couldn't get along among themselves? In two months a whole year's work slid slowly away and nothing could stop it. By spring the council had ceased to meet and there was nothing to show that a bold new venture in local participation in government had ever existed.

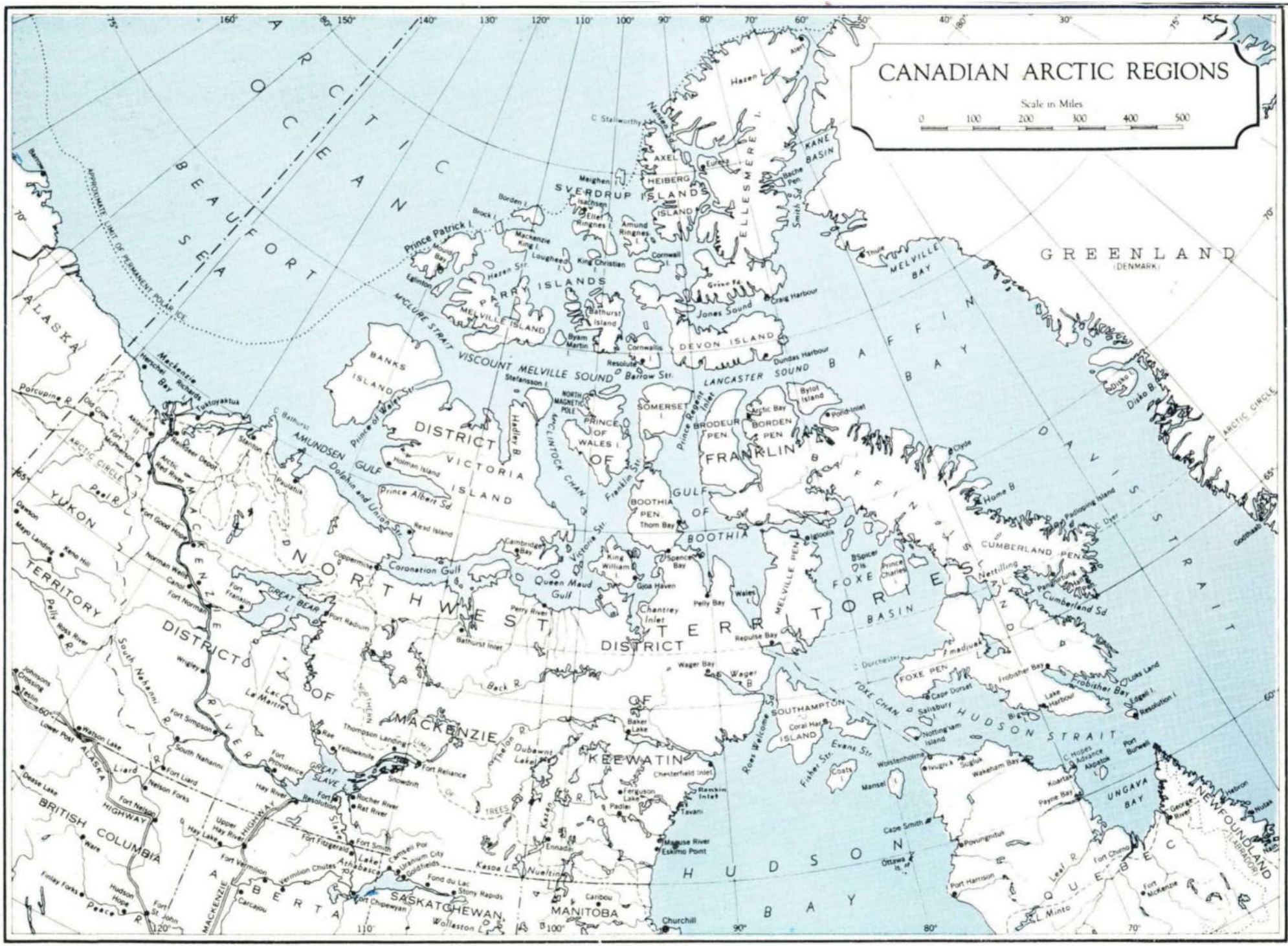
RECENTLY I resigned my position as a northern service officer with the Department of Northern Affairs. (I did so in order to return to my former work as a motion picture writer and director: I have not left the Arctic for I will be doing most of my film work there.) Most of the time I enjoyed my work. I found a tremendous satisfaction in working with a primitive group assisting them to find new paths in a changing environment. It was a pleasure to work with some of the white people who were dedicated, thoughtful men and women. But not everyone was this way. I found it increasingly difficult to work without quite knowing where I was going, without being able to relate my efforts to some master plan. I found it next to impossible to take responsibility for all matters in my area with no control or authority over events as they occurred.

NOT LONG ago I stood on the shore of an Arctic lake. It was summer and the smell of the raw earth was in the air. Beside me stood a man who had spent the major portion of his life in the Arctic. He had come to me to ask if I would walk along the lake shore with him as he wanted to talk with me about a very difficult problem that had arisen. An Eskimo had complained that, for a number of months, a government officer had been engaging in homosexual practices with a number of Eskimo men and boys in the community. This information had shocked the elderly northerner to the core of his being. From him I had never heard an unkind word. But as he spoke to me that day his voice quivered with emotion and bitterness crept into his tone: "I've lived most of my adult life in the Arctic," he said, "I've always tried to do the best I know for the Eskimo wherever I have been. In my time I have seen good men and bad men, but lately I have seen too many bad men in positions of responsibility. Why do they let such people come to this country? Surely they must understand the irreparable harm such people do in the small northern community. Better to have no one than to have incompetents and misfits. This winter I have seen men stationed here who should never have been allowed to come to the Arctic in any capacity, let alone in positions of authority. What must the Eskimos think of us when it is such specimens of our society we send into the north? What must they think of us here in this community today?"

What must they have thought of us, indeed! What must we think of ourselves!

Working with primitive peoples is as much an art as it is a science. Training can do much to prepare a person for this work but the initial selection of a person to work with a primitive group is even more important than his training. Every white man who goes into the north is a leader, in some small way, to the Eskimos with whom he comes in contact. It is to us the Eskimos turn for assistance in finding new paths.

Proper personnel selection is the key to successful development of the human resources of the Arctic. Today, in Canada, there is no such program of selection. Until there is we will be forced to watch the slow disintegration of group after group of Eskimos as modern civilization overruns them with too few people—too few understanding, kind, competent people—to guide them. I hope this situation will be corrected but I see no evidence that this will be so. In my lifetime I expect to see the sturdy, self reliant, cheery Eskimo vanish from the Canadian scene. ◆



Surveys and Mapping Branch 1958, (Grise Fiord and Rankin Inlet added)

A magnificent collection of fine furs has been assembled by the Canadian government and displayed in the fashion salons of Europe. The garments, of Canadian wild and ranch furs, were designed and made in Canada.

This luxurious coat which toured Europe as an example of Canadian furcraft is of ranch-bred Autumn Haze* Emba natural brown mutation mink.

*TM Mutation Mink Breeders' Assn.